1971

The Pacific Historian, Volume 15, Number 3 (1971)

THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN

Volume 15 No. 3 Fall 1971

AN INVITATION TO J S S DAY

R. Coke Wood, *Director*

The Fifteenth Annual Fall Rendezvous of the Jedediah Smith Society will be held on September 25, in the Memory Gardens of the Pacific House at Monterey. After a coffee break in Memory Gardens at 10:00 a.m., tours will be conducted through the Pacific House, the Old Custom House and Colton Hall. Bob Reese, Superintendent of Parks and Recreation in Monterey, and Mrs. Dorothy Ronald of Colton Hall will be our hosts. At 12:30, a catered buffet luncheon will be served in the lovely Memory Gardens, presided over by President Warren Atherton. The noted Western sculptor, Joe Shebl of Salinas, will display several of his western bronzes. The speaker will be announced at a later date.

The trek to Monterey this year will be following the trail of Jedediah Smith as he made his unhappy visit to Monterey in October, 1827, to again visit Governor Echeandia, who had ordered him out of California the previous year because he had no passport. Now, because of Indian attacks and the loss of all his supplies, when Smith returned to his men on the Stanislaus River, he had no choice but to visit the Mexican settlements on the coast to obtain supplies. Father Narciss Duran, at Mission San Jose, promptly locked him up until he could visit, under guard, the Governor in Monterey, and obtain a passport. Dale Morgan says, "When, near midnight on the third day, they arrived at Monterey, Jedediah was delivered to the calabozo and locked up for the night, unwashed and unfed." It was only because of the intervention of Captain Cooper, master of an American ship from Boston, that the hostile Mexican Governor Echeandia was persuaded to grant a passport and a permit for Smith to trade his pelts for horses and supplies, provided he leave California at once.

We have been assured by Mrs. Dorothy Ronald that the Mayor of Monterey will be happy to see us and might even apologize for the rude conduct of Governor Echeandia to our Jed Smith.

Reservations for the rendezvous should be made with the Jedediah Smith Society, University of the Pacific, but motel reservations should be made directly with the motels themselves.

OUR COVER

The reproduction of the painting on our cover appeared as the cover of TOGETHER magazine, June, 1960. The original is a large canvas on display at South Dakota State College, Brookings, S.D.

THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN

A Quarterly from the University of the Pacific

Printed by Valley Oaks Printers **Stockton, California**

PUBLISHED BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC

address all correspondence:
THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN
University of the Pacific
Stockton, California 95204

THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN
A QUARTERLY OF WESTERN HISTORY and IDEAS
Volume 15 No. 3 Fall 1971

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WAS IT JEDEDIAH SMITH?

DON M. CHASE

Three hundred horses and mules, herded by trappers in the party of Jedediah Smith, made their way up the Sacramento Valley in the spring of 1828—the first exploring party of Americans to penetrate northern California. Jedediah Smith, with his clerk, Harrison Rogers, and twenty mountain men enroute to the Rocky Mountains via the Oregon country, was nearing the end of his California venture. Smith would rejoin his partners of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and would retire from the fur trade and die at the hands of Comanches in southwest Kansas three years later, terminating one of the most illustrious exploring careers, and closing his great work of exploration which opened the West.

It may be useful here to review briefly the career of Jedediah Smith. In 1822, General William Ashley, an energetic merchant, politician and militia officer of St. Louis, formed a partnership with Andrew Henry to carry out a new method of securing valuable beaver pelts, which previously had been purchased for the most part from the Indians by such well known traders as Manuel Lisa, Andrew Henry and Pierre Chouteau. In April of 1822, Ashley set off up the Missouri River with 150 men. In May, a second section of the expedition set out with young Jedediah Smith, then twenty-three years of age, in the group. Several of these men in Ashley's employ were to become notable mountain men, scouts and guides in the decades to follow. The more famous of Smith's companions were: Thomas (Brokenhand) Fitzpatrick, Jim Bridger, William Sublette, James Beckwourth, James Clyman and Black Harris.

In the summer of 1823, Ashley's men bought horses from the "Ree" Indians, and while camped with their newly purchased horses on the riverbank they were attacked by the Indians from their fortified village above. A dozen of the trappers were killed by the Indians in this suprise attack. Cool and capable under deadly fire, Smith distinguished himself, and from that time on was one of Ashley's "Captains," leaders of brigades of fifty to one hundred trappers.

In 1824, Smith's brigade discovered the South Pass—the easy pass across the continental divide. Through this pass some twenty years later poured most of the emigration to California and Oregon. It is true that some of the Astorians had returned home through South Pass in 1812, but not realizing the importance of it, they

Jedediah Strong Smith
Drawing courtesty of Don Chase

made no mention of it, and so the pass had no effect at all upon travel until after Smith traversed it. When Smith found it he sent word to Ashley who made it known that there was a way across the Rocky Mountains which wagons could use. Six years later, Smith's partner, Bill Sublette, brought the first wagons to the west.

In 1825, Ashley took Jedediah Smith into partnership, and a year later Smith and his associates, William Sublette and David Jackson, bought Ashley out and formed the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. In the succeeding four years the men became rich, and Smith carried out his California venture to which we now turn.

At the close of the trappers' rendezvous of 1826, where the new partnership was formed, it was decided that Bill Sublette would be in charge of transportation and supplies, David Jackson would lead the main body of their trappers, and Jedediah Smith would take an exploring expedition to California, testing the beaver waters of the Far West.

Accordingly, Smith and fourteen men left Cache Valley August 16, traveling through the valley of the Great Salt Lake and southwesterly across southern Nevada to the Colorado River. Although he found few beaver, Smith made careful notes on the features of the country. He laid to rest the myth of the great river which was supposed to flow from the great lake westerly to San Francisco Bay, and Smith later was able to provide the United States Government with good geographical information on the area.

At the Colorado, after much hard going, Smith remained with the Mohave Indians for three weeks to rest and recruit horses and men. Then he left the Colorado and crossed the mountains into San Bernardino valley and on to Mission San Gabriel. From November 26 to January 16 the party was mired down in protocol, but at last they were allowed to head out to explore Central California and trap beaver—over the mountains to the great San Joaquin Valley they went, and trapped their way north, hunting the waters of the Sierra streams.

By the end of April, Smith's men had reached the American River. Obviously he had not finished exploring California, but if he were to meet his partners for their rendezvous on July 1st, at Bear Lake, he would have to get started. So in early May, he attempted the Sierra crossing up the American, but failed, due to deep snows. A few weeks later he tried again, this time probably up the Stanislaus, and over Ebbetts Pass. He and two men succeeded this time, and pressed on across Nevada. They knew nothing of the Humboldt River and the easier way it might have offered. They passed far to the south of it and after great hardships struggling across the Nevada and Utah deserts, reached Bear Lake on July 3, only two days late.

After the rendezvous, Smith set out with eighteen men over the same route to rejoin his men in California. The Mohave Indians, so friendly the year before, were treacherous this year, and while the mountain men were rafting across the Colorado, ten of them were killed. Smith and eight men barely escaped. They were without food or horses and had only five guns. They made their way once more to the Mission, and got deeper into trouble with the Mexican authorities for having come again, uninvited. Weeks elapsed before they were allowed to depart.

Taking his party north into the central valley again, Smith rejoined his men on the Stanislaus, and then went to the Mexican authorities, as he had been ordered to do. At Monterey his troubles were eased by the intervention of American merchants who put up bond on the basis of his good behavior and his promise to leave California. He sold his beaver furs to a ship captain and used the money to buy 250 horses and mules at Mission San Jose. Now with over 300 animals he gradually and slowly made his way up the east side of the Sacramento Valley, to just north of Red Bluff. There he crossed the river and turned northwest up Cottonwood Creek into the Trinity River drainage, thence down the Klamath River, and up the coast to the Umpqua River.

A short distance up the Umpqua, Smith took two men and went exploring, leaving his number one man, Harrison Rogers, in charge. Rogers foolishly allowed too many Indians in camp, and all but one of the men were slaughtered. The one who escaped joined Smith and his two companions and they all fled to the north 200 miles or more to Fort Vancouver, the Hudson's Bay Pacific headquarters. There John McLaughlin was kind to them and helped them retrieve some of their lost property. Alexander McLeod, with thirty-six men, hastened with Smith and his three men to the vicinity of the late massacre, and there were able to retrieve thirty-eight horses and mules, about 600 pelts of beaver, some kettles and camp equipment, plus, wonderful to relate, the precious journals both of Smith and Rogers. The company did not require any payment for help given, nor for hospitality, but they offered low renumeration for the animals and the pelts, which Smith sold to the company.

A few months later, in March 1829, Smith and one of his men accompanied a Hudson's Bay party up the Columbia toward the Red River Settlements. Near present day Spokane, Smith separated from the company expedition to join his own trappers who, under David Jackson, were wintering at Flathead Lake. Smith's other two men chose to remain in the Oregon country.

The fortunes of Smith's fur company had prospered, even though the California venture had been calamitous. After another fall and spring hunt, the three partners agreed to disband, and Smith left the Rockies, as he supposed, forever. This was in the summer of 1830. The following year, while going to Santa Fe to help his two brothers get launched into the Santa Fe trade, Smith was killed by Comanche Indians, thus bringing to a sad end the brief career of perhaps the most illustrious explorer, after Lewis and Clark, which our history has known.

We can sum up the career of Jedediah Smith by saying that he was the effective discoverer of South Pass, the first American overland to California, the first white man to traverse Utah and Nevada, the first man to travel overland from San Diego to nearly the present Canadian border, and the interpreter of the geography of the Far West who made it possible for a fairly good map to be made of the Far Western interior.

It was not until a few months after Smith's lonely death that the event occurred which was fated to focus widespread attention of Americans upon the Oregon country and lead to a mass emigration to the Far West.

In October, 1831, there appeared in St. Louis a delegation of four Nez Perce Indians (often erroneously identified as Flatheads) who were seeking the means to know the white man's religion. It was reported they were asking for the white man's "Book of Heaven." During the several months the Indians remained in St. Louis, the two older men died. In the spring the two younger Indians went up the Missouri, enroute home, journeying with traders. At the Mandan Villages they saw the painter, George Catlin, who borrowed Sioux finery for them, and painted their portraits. Their names were Rabbitskin Leggings and No Horns On His Head. Catlin traveled with them when their party went on up river, and in his account tells of traveling with them "two thousand miles" (somewhat of an exaggeration), and states that when he returned to St. Louis he asked General Clark if he understood correctly that the Indians had been seeking the white man's religion. Clark assured him the report was correct.

Almost a year later, in March, 1833, there appeared in the *Methodist Christian Advocate* an account of the matter. That same year Jason Lee volunteered to go to Oregon to minister to the Indians. Others joined him, and the Methodist mission went to Oregon in 1834. In 1836, the Whitman mission was sent out by the Presbyterians for the same purpose. The two missions established themselves and the leaders of the two groups went back to the States to recruit settlers for Oregon. In 1838, Father De Smet, the first Catholic missionary, went out. He returned East soon, and in 1841 returned to his mission to stay. De Smet's party was the first wagon train to Oregon (1841), and traveled with the Bartleson-Bidwell party as far as Soda Springs. The latter was, of course, the first wagon train to California. All through the Forties an increasing flood of emigrants poured into Oregon, in response to the pleas for settlers made by the missionaries, and in consequence of Smith and Sublette having opened the way by giving assurance that wagons could be taken to the Far West.

But the mystery we are dealing with is—why did the Nez Perces decide to go to St. Louis—who influenced them to think the white man's religion would be good for them—why did they decide to go to St. Louis instead of the Hudson's Bay headquarters at Red River Settlement? The answer to these questions, when all known elements are considered, has to be Jedediah Smith.

The man or men who influenced them had to be:

1—from St. Louis

2—a man who believed the Christian faith

3—a man who could show them or tell them about the Bible as a source of Christian knowledge

4—a man who had had effective, friendly contact with the Nez Perces in years just prior to their journey to St. Louis in 1831.

Smith is the most eligible for consideration on all these counts.

The two older Indians remembered Clark and Lewis from their explorations in 1805-06, but that was too long before. George Simpson of Hudson's Bay Company talked to chiefs in 1825 about the possibility of their having a religious teacher, but *he* could not conceivably have influenced them towards *St. Louis.* David Thompson, Northwest Fur Company man, was a devout Christian, but he never entered the Nez Perce country, and he would have influenced them towards Canada, not St. Louis; besides, he was too early, 1807-11. David McKenzie worked among the Nez Perces for the English companies, but he did not get on well with the Nez Perces, and also, his loyalty was to Canada.

One other person must be considered, an Indian youth. In 1825, George Simpson, head of the Hudson's Bay Company, hoping to bring a Christian influence to the tribes, persuaded the chief of the Spokanes to allow his son, known to the company as Spokane Garry, to go to the Red River Settlements with Simpson, there to be educated so that he might be a missionary to his own people in his own language. Garry went home in 1829, there to remain a year, reassuring his family and relieving his homesickness. Other boys went back with him when he returned to Red River in 1830.

There is no evidence that in 1829 he took the Bible with him, or that he taught his people the Christian religion; his training was not complete. In the spring of 1830, he went back to Red River for two more years of training, and went home to stay in 1832. After *this* homecoming, Garry *did* read the Bible and tell his people about the Christian religion. Ten years later Lawyer, a Nez Perce leader, told of hearing Garry do this.

Two powerful reasons militate against our assuming that Spokane Garry, a youth of another tribe, of another language, was the effective influence we are trying to identify: 1. His coming is too late to have caused the 1831 mission to St. Louis; and 2. *He would most certainly have turned them towards Red River Settlements where he had received his own training and his Bible.*

Unfortunately for the reader of the history of the Nez Perce people, the principal writers have glibly assumed that a ward of the Hudson's Bay Company would have influenced the Nez Perce Indians to make a 2,000 mile journey to St. Louis, instead of where he received his own learning and his Bible.

Rabbit Skin Leggings *No Horns On His Head*
Nez Perce Indians who sought the "White Man's Book of Heaven"

Less definitely identified than Spokane Garry is the supposed influence of Iroquois Indians who received their Catholic training in Quebec, and a few of whom had settled in what we now know as Idaho, after leaving the fur company employ. For two reasons this is not likely: 1) No Catholic authority assumed that an uninstructed person can find the true faith *unaided* from the Bible—the Nez Perce delegation *did* ask for the Bible. 2) The Iroquois surely would not have pointed the Nez Perce toward the American settlement, but rather to their own source of training in Canada.

After the writer had reached the present conclusions he was cheered to find that Sabin, in *Kit Carson Days*, also attributed this influence to Jedediah Smith. I find, too, that George Oliphant, writing in the *Pacific Historical Review*, examined the records of the Hudson's Bay Company and established the year in which Spokane Garry returned home as 1832 instead of 1831 as assumed by one writer who has championed Garry as the influential factor we are seeking.

Let us summarize, then, and say that our man has to be a practicing Christian who respects the Christian faith, preferably a man who can show and read from a Bible; he must be from St. Louis—that is, an American trapper—(*all* of them came through St. Louis); and his influence must have been recent enough to be effective in 1831. Finally, the influential factor has to be the man—the person. Theory and philosophy and desire to imitate the Americans in general will not do. The most likely explanation of this strange happening, therefore, is that Jedediah Smith, known to have carried a Bible, and known to have been in friendly contact with the Nez Perces at least to some degree in every year from 1824 to 1830 when he left the mountains, is our man. No other man qualifies; Smith does. *I* cannot *prove* my case, but I can establish a high probability.

Don Chase has long been a student of Jedediah Smith and his era. The above article was taken from his JSS breakfast speech during the 1971 California History Institute. Author of several books and articles on Jedediah Smith, Rev. Chase has presented for us another thesis on the influence of the deeply religious Mountain Man.

Is there a Jedediah Smith living today? A few months ago nationwide publicity was given to a project aimed at discovering any namesakes of 'DIAH (1799-1831). None has turned up. If you know of one, the Jedediah Smith Society (University of the Pacific, Stockton, California 95204) would welcome word.

The Racial Attitudes Of Francis G. Newlands

HARLAN H. HAGUE

One of the best-known figures in Nevada history is Francis G. Newlands.[1] Before arriving in Nevada, Newlands had already achieved both professional and social success as a California attorney and son-in-law of William Sharon, the powerful West Coast financier and tycoon of the Nevada Comstock. Fulfillment, however, came for Newlands only after he entered politics following his change of residence to Nevada. For him, it was a happy culmination to years of frustration and an early career that seemingly had become increasingly meaningless. Devoting most of his life to public service, Newlands is generally considered to have been an able politician, ambitious for himself and his state. Recognizing that he was a man with a many-faceted personality, this study centers on but one aspect: his views on races.

Francis Newlands was born on August 28, 1848 in Natchez, Mississippi. His father, a successful physician, apparently would have been content to remain in the South, but at the insistence of Mrs. Newlands the family soon moved north to Quincy, Illinois in search of better educational opportunities for the children. His father died when Francis was three years old, leaving the family in tight financial circumstances. This situation was relieved later with Mrs. Newlands's second marriage, and Francis eventually was able to enter Yale. Though he gained distinction quickly, he felt compelled to withdraw in 1866 during his junior year because of insufficient funds. His stepfather had lost a considerable amount of money, and Francis felt that he should not accept the offers of friends to help him stay in school.

The young Newlands joined his family in their Washington home where he secured a civil service job. Having decided to become an attorney, he studied law at night. He was admitted to the bar in 1869 and soon after moved west to seek his fortune.

In San Francisco, Newlands first practiced criminal law, relying on the court for cases, but finally switched to corporate law. Moderately successful by 1874, he suddenly became both wealthy and socially prominent through his marriage to the daughter of William Sharon. Newlands soon was handling legal affairs for the Sharon interests, spending most of his time on Sharon's scheme to corner the market for San Francisco's water supply. Hard,

Francis G. Newlands
Reproduced by permission of the Director, The Bancroft Library

frustrating work caused his health to fail, and Newlands went to Europe to recuperate. On his return to California, his views appeared more moderate than those that he previously had shared with the ruthless Sharon. When Sharon died in 1885, he left his estate in Newlands's care.

A growing interest in politics led Newlands to seek election in

1887 to the United States Senate against fellow Democrat George Hearst. Though Hearst won the election, Newlands's desire for political office remained. In 1888, he gave up his California citizenship and settled in Nevada where he campaigned for the Senate as a Republican on a platform of regional development. He failed in this attempt and settled in 1892 for Nevada's single seat in the House of Representatives as a candidate of the Silver Party, but with the endorsement of the Republican Party organization in Nevada. In the House, he was an active member of the committee on foreign relations and the committee on ways and means. In 1902, a Democrat again since the Nevada Democratic Party had taken up the cause of silver, Newlands was elected to the United States Senate, serving there until his death on December 24, 1917. In the Senate, he gained considerable recognition for his work on reclamation and irrigation, improvement of domestic transportation and regulation of interstate commerce.

In the following pages, comment is made on Newlands's attitudes toward races and the possible reasons for these views as well as the effect of his attitudes on his actions. Particular attention is given to his public views on Asians, Latin Americans and Negroes. Early in the study, it was intended to include Newlands's views on American Indians, but the sources consulted failed to reveal a clear picture of his attitudes toward Indians.

It comes as no surprise that Newlands saw the confrontation between Asians and white Americans as the greatest danger to racial peace. He had lived in California long enough to have assumed the prevailing anti-Chinese attitude there. As a Nevadan, he also held the dominant view which included support for California's plans to enact discriminatory legislation against Asians.

Newlands's racial views went beyond a mere desire for a white United States. He also appeared to hold the Anglo-Saxon-Teutonic bias, a not uncommon attitude in his day. Newlands had traveled in Europe and claimed to have observed first-hand the superiorities of the Germans and English, whom he described as "the two most vigorous races." Early in his political career, Newlands urged Nevadans to set up a government-sponsored physical fitness program for all, such as he had seen in operation in England and in Germany. He mentioned specifically the gymnasium at Carlsbad, Germany which provided a comprehensive program of exercising and games and with a medical doctor in attendance to give physical therapy. He pointed out that the program was sponsored by the state. If Nevadans decided to ignore physical training,

while he preferred white labor to Chinese, he had no intention of

warned Newlands, they could end up like "the French race-small, poorly developed and weakly." Or, he added hopefully. they could adopt the type of training that "has developed the English race into the strong, vigorous, aggressive race that it is, dominating the world with its arms, its intelligence and its language."[2]

The "Chinese problem" in the last half of the nineteenth century was both international and local. The earliest attempts to regularize relations between the United States and China resulted from entrance of American traders and missionaries into China. Thus, the first treaties were concerned with protecting the rights of Americans living in China. The relations between Chinese and Americans changed quickly as waves of Chinese were attracted to the United States by the California gold discovery and the building of the transcontinental railroad. The 1852 Chinese population in California of 10,000 jumped to 40,000 by 1860. The national census of 1870 showed 56,000 Chinese in the country, of whom only 500 were located east of the Rocky Mountains. In view of increasing emigration, it is understandable that China would wish to make reciprocal the provisions of the treaties previously negotiated. The government of the United States agreed, and a new treaty was concluded in June 1868 which, among other provisions, recognized reciprocal rights of Chinese and Americans to immigrate at will.[3]

The reciprocal agreement had hardly been formalized when American feelings on the West Coast and elsewhere turned against the Chinese. Public resistance to further Chinese immigration resulted in a demand for a revision of the 1868 treaty, leaving it to apply only to commercial matters and permitting the United States to halt the inflow of Chinese. Pick-handle brigades of "native-American" workers in California vowed to accelerate the disappearance of the threat of cheap Chinese labor. Their cry was "The Chinese must go." Eastern laboring men joined the Californians in the anti-Chinese movement as their own employers sought to import Chinese strike-breakers.[4]

Public pressure eventually brought discriminatory legal action. The California legislature enacted laws, later declared unconstitutional by the federal courts, against Chinese residents of that state. On the national level, President Hayes vetoed a bill in January 1879 which would have abrogated the restrictive clause of the 1868 treaty concerning immigration. Appreciating public wishes behind the bill, however, he sent special commissioners to China

to seek a modification of the treaty. The commissioners successfully negotiated a new agreement under which the United States, at its discretion, could regulate immigration of Chinese laborers. In return, the United States government promised to protect the Chinese who were already within its borders. Under terms of the treaty, Congress enacted a series of measures which essentially halted Chinese immigration. The precedent thus was set for the exclusion of alien races that were considered a threat to American civilization.[5]

Newlands first took a public stand on the Chinese question at a large anti-Chinese convention at Sacramento in 1886. In the past, he had avoided this sort of rally, but since announcing the previous year his intention to campaign for the United States Senate, he perhaps felt it necessary to act like a candidate. During a speech to the gathering, he seemingly committed political suicide by admitting that he employed 500 Chinese. He silenced the resulting catcalls and hisses by explaining that since the death of Sharon, who had originally hired the Chinese, he had ordered that they be replaced with whites, a process that would take time. Further, he added that the United States should:

> . . . present impregnable barriers against invasion, whether peaceful or warlike, which threatens its institutions or tends to degrade its labor. I believe that this country should be the country of the white man. I believe that the advancement of mankind is best secured not by a sickly sentimentality which seeks to embrace the entire world within the sphere of its benevolent action, but by the individual efforts of every man in the advancement of the race to which he belongs, and I believe that the first duty of white men is to white men, in the maintenance of race integrity, in the maintenance of that civilization which characterized it as the superior race of the world.

Newlands disagreed, however, with other speakers at the convention who suggested a total boycott against Chinese businesses and non-Chinese firms that hired Chinese, explaining that this would amount to illegal coercion of white citizens. He added that while he preferred white labor to Chinese, he had no intention of trying to impose his views on others.[6]

There appears to be little doubt that Newlands's attitudes toward Asian immigration were motivated primarily by the threat he saw to "native" American labor. In 1896, as the member of the House of Representatives from Nevada, he spoke on the menace to the American economy posed by the increasing influx of

Japanese products. In his argument, he cited California's experience with the Chinese as an example of the problem. He pointed out that the Chinese were intelligent, hard workers whose living expenses were "almost nothing." Since they monopolized every industry to which they turned their attention, California had to take steps to protect its citizens. Newlands noted that though the producers of cheap products had been excluded from the United States, the products manufactured abroad by cheap labor were still coming into the country.[7] He spoke again before the House the following year on the same issue—the tariff—and again cited the California experience:

> The great Democratic party wisely took up the cry of Dennis Kearney, "The Chinese must go." Why? Because they realized that if the cheap labor of China were given admission to this country, we could not save our civilization.

And, he added, if the cheap labor can be excluded, so can its products. Newlands's reference to the Democratic Party was an appeal for support from Democrats for his attempt to raise the duty on borax and soda ash, both Nevada products.[8]

In addition to his public utterances on the tariff, Newlands's frequent speeches on the question of the annexation of Hawaii give clues to his views on race. Ignoring other usually-cited considerations for the United States's annexing the Islands, such as penetration of American missionary and commercial interests, Newlands based his support for annexation on the view that Hawaii, under control of a white population, desired annexation. He admitted that the initial actions resulting from annexation might disregard rights of the natives, but added that they eventually would be appeased and gratified. They would soon agree that their life as American citizens justified the initial injustices.[9]

In a speech to the House of Representatives in 1898, Newlands pondered aloud whether the disadvantages of acquiring a foreign population were outweighed by the advantages of acquiring "the key to the Pacific," as he viewed the Islands. Pointing out that the disadvantages were considerably exaggerated, he explained how the composition of the population would change following annexation:

> The population consists of about 20,000 whites, 30,000 Kanakas, 20,000 Chinese, 40,000 Japanese. The whites consist of Americans, English and Portuguese, all of whom can be easily assimilated.

> The Kanakas are a very kindly, intelligent race, gradually becoming extinct. The Chinese and Japanese are there, as a rule, without families, under contract. They are devoted to their own country, and intend some time returning there. The existing Mongolian population, therefore, will necessarily be withdrawn, and under wise exclusion laws there will be none to take its place. The population of Hawaii will necessarily, therefore, be increased by emigration from our own country . . . . [T]hus . . . the entire character of the population will be changed . . . .

While pointing out the disadvantages of acquiring a "Mongolian" population, Newlands at the same time noted that "the present population is friendly to America."[10]

In another speech to the House, this one in 1900, Newlands again expressed himself in favor of increasing the immigration of "free white persons" to the Hawaiian Islands and the exclusion of Asians. Noting that the labor in the Islands was then mainly "Asiatic," Newlands stated that there was no reason why whites could not be employed in their places. He explained that Portuguese and Italians had proven excellent laborers in a similar climate and had shown themselves to be good workers on the mainland West Coast:

> . . . [I]f we can encourage that kind of immigration and discourage Asiatic immigration, we shall march a long ways in the line of making the Hawaiian government a republic in spirit and essence as well as in form.[11]

In 1906, Newlands defended restrictions on Chinese immigration on the Senate floor, having been elected to that body by Nevada voters in 1902. In a Senate speech following a trip to Hong Kong and Canton as a member of a commission traveling in the Far East to study the problem of the Philippines, he claimed that the "Chinaman" would inundate the United States if immigration controls were lifted. He pointed out that a coolie could spend a few years in this country and then return to his family a rich man by the low economic standards of the Chinese.[12]

Though the "Chinese problem" in Hawaii was never solved to Newlands's satisfaction, Chinese immigration to the continental United States was essentially ended well before the turn of the century by restrictive legislation. Another racial problem appeared, however, with the influx of Japanese in the 1890's. Newlands considered this new threat even more serious. Chinese newcomers had been content to work as laborers or, in some cases, had become owners of small shops. The Japanese, on the other hand, were agriculturalists and sought to own land.

Concern on the West Coast increased as the Japanese population grew. In 1890, there had been only 2,039 Japanese in the United States. This number increased to 24,326 by 1900, the increase due chiefly to immigration. Most of the immigrants settled in California where the cry soon rose to make the Chinese exclusion laws apply to Japanese as well. Japan's military victory over Russia in 1905 increased the American fear of "the Yellow Peril."[13]

The initial public discriminatory measure was taken by the San Francisco school board when, in October 1906, it ruled that Japanese children had to attend the Oriental school in Chinatown. The Japanese government, proud of its position in Asia and offended at this and other implications of inferiority, protested.[14]

President Theodore Roosevelt responded to the San Francisco action in his annual message to Congress on December 4, 1906, by calling for justice and good will to all immigrants, regardless of their national origins. His concern, he said, was prompted by the attitude of hostility displayed in certain parts of the country against the Japanese. He called for Congress to pass an act specifically providing for the naturalization of Japanese who came to the United States intending to become American citizens. Finally, he declared that the San Francisco school board measure was wrong and requested that Congress strengthen by legislation the power of the President to protect the rights of aliens under existing treaties.[15]

In reply to the President's comments, Newlands charged in a Senate speech that Roosevelt himself was responsible for Japan's protest. Newlands pointed out that the President should have replied to Japan that in the American federal system the state has certain powers which it can exercise without interference from the central government. In other words, Roosevelt should have explained that the domestic affairs of the state of California were outside his control. While noting the admiration of American citizens for the Japanese people, Newlands claimed that the best way to cement that friendship was to avoid race conflict by preventing a confrontation of the two races, differing as they did in their standards of living. The position taken by the President, continued Newlands, could only lead to a movement on the Pacific coast that would end in Japanese exclusion.

The Senator agreed that Japan had reason to resent certain American actions, but not on the race question. It did have a grievance, he noted, over the attempt of the United States to exclude Japanese commerce and carrying trade in the Philippines

through its tariff policy. The United States, he explained, was closing the door on Japan while calling for Japan to open the door to American trade in Manchuria and Korea, which were within Japan's area of influence.

Newlands held that there was no contradiction in trying to maintain friendship with Japan and trying to prevent economic revolution and race conflict at home, though this attempt might necessarily include restrictions on Japanese immigration. He concluded that "the best way of preserving international friendship is to prevent economic warfare, the conflict of dissimilar standards of labor on the same soil."[16]

In spite of Newlands's plea, President Roosevelt continued to negotiate with Japan. The result was the "gentlemen's agreement" under which Asian children under sixteen years of age would attend the regular schools as formerly and that, in return, the Japanese government would withhold passports from laborers who wished to emigrate to the United States. San Francisco accepted the compromise. President Roosevelt further supported the Californians in an executive order issued on March 14, 1907 which stated that Japanese and Korean laborers who had obtained passports for Mexico, Canada or Hawaii were not to be permitted to enter the United States from those locales.[17]

While appreciating the President's actions, the California legislature was still not satisfied that the federal government was doing enough to protect the people of the state. The legislature, therefore continued to assert its prerogative to pass whatever laws it considered necessary to meet the Japanese menace of immigration. The Nevada legislature whole-heartedly supported the California law-makers and passed a resolution to that effect.[18] One of Nevada's United States Senators, George S. Nixon, immediately expressed his disapproval of the Nevada legislature's action in a letter addressed to the President of the state Senate.[19] Nevada's other Senator in Washington, Francis Newlands, just as promptly expressed his approval of the resolution.

In a letter written to Nevada Governor D. S. Dickerson, which the Senator expected to be released to the press, Newlands gave a thorough expression of his racial views.[20] He suggested them to the legislature as the basis of a plan of action which, while indicating a desire for friendship with Japan, would clearly state the American purpose to maintain the United States as "the home of the white race, free from such racial competition and antagonism on our own soil as will surely breed domestic violence and inter-

Francis G. Newlands
Courtesy, The Bancroft Library

national hatred." At the same time, Newlands claimed to entertain no prejudice against any foreign race.[21]

After noting the great expanse of undeveloped American territory, Newlands expressed his conviction that if the United States imposed no immigration restrictions, the excess populations of every country in the world would soon find their way to this country. He pointed out that the United States had found it necessary to restrict European immigration since Americans were "finding it difficult to assimilate even the immigrants of the white race from that continent."

Newlands showed that his objections to Asian immigration were not solely based on economic considerations. History, he wrote, had shown the impossibility of making a "homogeneous people by the juxtaposition of races differing in color upon the same soil." He added:

Race tolerance, under such conditions, means race amalgamation, and this is undesirable. Race intolerance means, ultimately, race war and mutual destruction, or the reduction of one of the races to servitude. The admission of a race of a different color, in a condition of industrial servitude, is foreign to our institutions, which demand equal rights to all within our jurisdiction.[22]

Having thus disposed of both race tolerance, under certain circumstances, and race intolerance as undesirable, Newlands pointed out that the competition of a non-white race in this country would be accompanied by industrial disturbances. He added that a large armed force eventually be required to maintain order. Newlands noted that the danger would be less with the presence of the Chinese, who were "patient and submissive," but he pointed out that a concentration of Japanese would present more problems because they were stronger and more virile.

To prevent problems due to the juxtaposition of races, either international treaties or national laws could be enacted to regulate or prevent immigration, according to Newlands. He dismissed the use of treaties immediately as unsatisfactory because any nation, including the United States, would not wish to prevent its citizens from going where they desire. The only workable solution, he continued, was to rely on each nation to enact its own legislation to regulate immigration as it saw fit. He could see no other course open for the United States than to take such action for the sake of "self-protection and self-preservation." This country, he concluded:

. . . must declare by statutory enactment that it will not tolerate further race complications. Our contry should by law . . . prevent the immigration into this country of all peoples other than those of the white race . . . .[23]

Newlands followed up the letter to the Governor with a wire addressed to the legislature. In the wire, he re-emphasized the sentiments expressed to the Governor by pointing out:

. . . that our duty to our race and our institutions and the maintenance of friendship with races differing in color alike demand that we abandon the attempted adjustment of these questions by international treaty and pass a law . . . declaring that OUR COUNTRY IS OPEN TO WHITE IMMIGRATION ALONE, . . . AND THAT OTHER RACES SHALL BE EXCLUDED FROM IMMIGRATION EXCEPT FOR PURPOSES OF TRADE, TRAVEL AND EDUCATION.[24]

The administration of President Taft did not adopt Newlands's suggestion for legislation prohibiting Asian immigration, in spite of the Senator's oft-repeated belief that such immigration constituted a "national peril." Instead, the President accepted a new treaty of commerce and navigation with Japan in 1911 which omitted, at the request of the Japanese government, a restrictive clause in a previous treaty concerning the immigration of laborers. In return, the Japanese promised to continue to limit the emigration of laborers under the gentlemen's agreement. Undaunted, Newlands continued to urge the right of national discrimination and submitted a plank for the Democratic platform of 1912 which called for a law prohibiting the immigration to this country of all peoples other than those of the white race, except for temporary purposes of education, travel or commerce.[25]

Newlands's fear of Asian immigration and competition extended also to the question of what to do with the Philippine Islands, once they had been acquired by the United States during the war with Spain. While he saw considerable advantage for the expanding "Republic of America" in acquiring the Hawaiian Islands, and perhaps even Cuba and Puerto Rico, he saw only menace in the retention of the Philippines.[26] He did not believe that the Islands could be held permanently without incorporating them into the Union, an eventuality which he felt would be undesirable due to their great distance from the United States and the racial differences between the Filipino and American peoples.[27]

Adopting what he termed the "anti-imperialist view" toward the Philippine Islands, Newlands proposed in 1900 that the United States hold the Philippines as a trust for the native people, but only until "a stable government shall be organized, capable in the judgment of the United States of maintaining order and performing international obligations . . . ." Implementing this policy, Newlands suggested, would enable the United States to expand trade "in the Orient without the annexation of Oriental territory and Oriental peoples. . . ."[28] Two years earlier, he had referred to the serious problems that could arise from holding the Philippines, which would include the "possible acquisition of 9,000,000 people of inferior races, not suited for our civilization, not suited for assimilation with us. . . ."[29]

In his speech before the House in 1900, previously cited, in which he opposed annexation of the Philippines, Newlands noted the danger to American industry that Filipino competition would present. He referred to:

. . . the quickness and adaptability of that race . . . [and] . . . that the natives of the Philippines possess a high degree of intelligence, alertness, and industrial adaptability. They are quick with their heads and their hands, in this respect resembling the Japanese . . . .[30]

It should be emphasized that in the speech Newlands was praising the intelligence and potential of Filipinos in order to convince his colleagues that the threat of competition from them required that the proposal for annexation of the Islands be rejected. At the same time, he referred to the "evils of free migration" that would permit an unrestricted immigration of Filipinos into the continental United States if the Islands were annexed.[31]

Newlands's appraisals of the Filipino people appeared to vary from time to time, according to the contexts of the appraisals. Following his trip to the Philippines in 1905, the Senator wrote that he found the people "interesting" and "capable of much development." He noted that the children learned English "with great facility" and that there was a general desire among all classes for education.[32] Eleven years later, arguing against the release of the Philippines from American control before the Islands were ready for self-government, Newlands referred to the Filipinos as "savage" or "semi-civilized people." "It seems to me," he noted:

. . . that experience must teach us that democratic government is only suited to people of the highest intelligence and the greatest self-control. A savage, a barbarous, or a semi-civilized people have not such intelligence and such self-control . . . . I fear that republican government will fail in the Philippines.[33]

While Newlands sought to exclude Asians from "white America," he had varying views toward Latin Americans and Negroes. Though he contrasted Latin Americans unfavorably with Anglo-Saxons, he did not appear to fear the possible acquisition of Latin populations. The Negro, who Newlands often overlooked in his speeches on racial matters, he considered a race of children as well as being unassimilable.

In the Cuban turmoil that preceded the opening of the war with Spain, Newlands was sympathetic with the insurrectionists who, in his opinion, were fighting the battles of democracy. As the dominant country in the western hemisphere, the United States had duties as well as privileges, according to Newlands; therefore, it had some responsibilties in the Cuban struggle. But were

the Cubans prepared to govern themselves after the Spanish overlords were expelled from their country? As a member of the committee on foreign affairs, Newlands spoke in 1896 to the House of Representatives on the state of the war in Cuba: "Now, of course, we all understand that the people of the Latin race are not so well fitted as those of the Anglo-Saxon race for free government." He went on to explain that the reason for this difference in fitness was because of the Anglo-Saxon's generations of training for freedom through education and practice, experiences that were lacking in the history of the Latin race.[34] It is significant that Newlands here referred not to the differences in fitness among "peoples" or "inhabitants" of particular countries, but to "races." He appeared to attribute differences not to national experiences but to racial backgrounds.

Newlands's attitudes towards the Chinese had some influence on his view of Cuba's proper relation with the United States. Cuba's situation, following the defeat of Spain and the restrictions imposed on the new republic by the United States in the Platt Amendment, moved Newlands to propose the annexation of Cuba.[35] Speaking before the House of Representatives in 1902, he explained his reasons for proposing annexation and detailed a bleak future for Cuba if annexation were not achieved promptly:

> Should she maintain her independence . . . she will continue her career as a country of practically one product—sugar. The industry will be unduly stimulated up to the full point of American absorption. The world will be scoured for cheap labor. Asiatic contract labor will be introduced, and all the objectionable conditions of tropical and semi-tropical life now existing there will be exaggerated . . . . [H]er population five or ten years hence will be much less desirable for annexation than it is now, composed as it will be of Chinese and other imported cheap laborers . . . .[36]

In addition to Cuba, Newlands had also shown interest in the possibility of acquiring Puerto Rico for the United States. As in the case with Cuba, Newlands felt that the advantages of acquiring the island would outweigh the disadvantages of acquiring the native population. In a House speech, he noted that the Puerto Ricans could be easily absorbed if the island were annexed. It should be added, however, that Newlands was speaking of the ease of absorbing them because of their small numbers. He did not in this speech refer to race.[37]

On another occasion, Newlands did not discriminate between Americans and non-Americans over the question of working

conditions in Panama. In a speech to the Senate, he expressed his support for a proposed eight-hour law as humane and desirable for all workers, whether they were American or alien, whether they "come from this country or whether they come from Santo Domingo or Martinique."[38]

As noted previously, Newlands tended to overlook the American Negro in his crusade to preserve "white America" by preventing immigration of Asians. Nevertheless, his views toward black Americans are quite clear. Newlands was too young to have taken part personally in the Civil War or Reconstruction, but he did gain impressions that later led him to appreciate the difficulties of Southerners.[39] Living in Washington during the Civil War, Newlands came to admire Lincoln. When Lincoln died, the young Newlands was distressed by the repressive measures employed by Congress to deal with the defeated South. He soon joined the Democratic Party in opposition to the policy of the Republicans.[40]

Newlands stated his attitudes toward Negroes in his letter of February 3, 1909 to the Nevada Governor. After declaring in the letter his belief that the United States should be preserved for the whites and proposing that the entrance of other races into the country should be restricted, Newlands turned to the problem of black Americans, suggesting that the United States:

> . . . start immediately upon the serious consideration of a national policy regarding the people of the black race now within our boundaries which, with a proper regard for humanity, will minimize the danger to our institutions and our civilization.[41]

A few days later, in a speech showing his support for restriction of Japanese immigration, Newlands also referred to what he thought the proper place of Negroes in American society should be. Calling the race question the "most important confronting the nation," he added that the country had already:

> . . . drifted, regarding the black race, into a condition which seriously suggests the withdrawal of the political rights heretofore mistakenly granted and demands the inauguration of a national policy which, with the co-operation and aid of the southern states, shall recognize that the blacks are a race of children requiring guidance, industrial training and the development of self-control, and that other measures now necessary to reduce the danger of the race complications formerly sectional but now becoming national.

The Carson City *Daily Appeal* reprinted the speech in a column

headed: "UNITED STATES IS FOR WHITE MEN ONLY." The *Daily Appeal* article called Newlands's statement "the most significant public utterance on the race question since the debates on the Fourteenth Amendment to the National Constitution."[42]

There is great danger inherent in a study such as this which focuses on but one part of a man's personality or work. It can tend to mislead by omitting those other considerations that also form a part, and perhaps a more important part, of his whole self. Since this has been a narrow investigation into but one aspect of a complex personality, no broad conclusions can or should be drawn from it on the whole character or contribution of Francis G. Newlands. Yet, there may be some value in a narrow study such as this as long as the reader is aware of its nature. If understanding a person's attitudes is essential to a comprehension of his actions, then surely an examination of Newlands's racial views is worthwhile.

Francis Newlands obviously was a friend of American labor. He gained the workingman's respect by his efforts to raise wage scales and to uphold the dignity of labor. Newlands believed that the American workingman was the backbone of society and that the ideals of democracy were expressed to their fullest in the working class. Feeling so, Newlands sought to protect the products of American labor from what he considered the destructive competition of foreign labor. As the cheap products of inferior foreign labor should be prevented from entering this country, so, he argued, should the producers of cheap products be refused entrance into the United States. In thus protecting the economic and social position of American labor, it might be concluded that Newlands's actions toward Asians were based on his humanitarian concern for native Americans.[43]

His attitude toward American Negroes, which led him to exclude them from his ideal of a "white America," must be explained some other way. Though Negroes too were "native Americans," Newlands considered them an inferior class whose status should somehow be modified, possibly including revocation of citizenship.[44] His attitude might be viewed by some as humanitarian, including the idea of the white guardian caring for his black dependents who could not care for themselves. Nevertheless, Newlands's assumptions appear to have been based on a belief in the unchangeable inferiority of the black race.

Another plausible explanation of Newlands's racial views lies in his political aspirations. His first public disclosure of his racial

attitudes came, as noted previously, in 1886 immediately after he had entered the race against George Hearst for the United States Senate. His announcement was made at an anti-Chinese rally, and his appearance had been planned with one purpose in mind: to get votes for his candidacy. Until that time, he had been silent on the Chinese question, though it was popular in California to be anti-Chinese. On the other hand, Newlands's relationship with William Sharon, who employed Chinese, could have influenced him to withhold his views. Sharon's death in 1885 removed whatever restraint that might have existed due to their association.

Later while in political office, Newlands might have felt it necessary to reflect the views of his Nevada constituents. This resulted in a racist stance. Yet, there were other Nevadans holding office at the same time as Newlands who did not agree with him. Even his Nevada colleague in the Senate disagreed with him in 1909 when the State legislature applauded the Californa plan to enact discriminatory legislation against the Japanese.

Newlands's views toward race were not unique during his time. Many of the country's leaders in government and in reform movements had similar attitudes toward non-whites. Probably one of the most extreme views before the turn of the century was that of Mary E. Lease, the Populist activist.[45] She wrote a book in 1895 under the title of *The Problem of Civilization Solved* in which she called for a reshuffling of populations throughout the world. Her newly-arranged society would be divided into classes. The Caucasian, who had risen to moral and intellectual leadership in the world, would be the master. Negroes and Orientals would become the tillers of the soil and in the process would be rescued from their paganism and misery.[46] There was widespread discrimination against Negroes in the South in the early 1900's through laws concerning voting and segregation. Racism was common throughout the progressive era. Probably most leading conservatives and even many radicals held racist views of varying intensities, but none were so specific and vocal in their racial pronouncements as the reformers.

Nevertheless, there was some sympathy for reforms to improve the lot of the Negro, usually of a gradualist nature such as that suggested by Booker T. Washington. President Theodore Roosevelt often spoke out in favor of the rights of Negroes and condemned the Democrats who he said wanted to disenfranchise them.

White supremacists were not cowed by the outspoken President. Following Roosevelt's dinner with Washington at the White House

in 1901, Senator Tillman of South Carolina said that "entertaining that nigger . . . [will] . . . necessitate our killing a thousand niggers in the South before they will learn their place again." Within a decade, the South had filled half of Tillman's quota, thereby stimulating the then current large-scale migrations of southern Negroes to the North where they were met with new segregation laws and race riots.[47] Shortly before Newlands's death, even President Woodrow Wilson spoke of his duty to the white race.[48]

None of the suggested explanations of Newlands's racial attitudes need be rejected in attempting to arrive at conclusions. His views were neither uncommon nor unpopular in his day, among either his constituency or his colleagues. His attitudes appear to have been influenced by his desire to protect American labor and preserve American civilization as well as a love of country and a determination to ensure the ascendancy of the white race.

1 The following biographical information on Newlands was taken largely from three sources: Dumas Malone, ed., **Dictionary of American Biography,** (20 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), XIII, pp. 462-63. The sketch, "Francis Griffith Newlands," was written by Arthur B. Darling who also edited the public papers of Newlands. See footnote 3; Hubert Howe Bancroft, **Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth,** (7 vols.; San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1892), IV, pp. 80-102; William Lilley III, "The Early Career of Francis G. Newlands, 1848-1897" (unpublished Master's thesis, Yale University, 1965), selections from entire thesis.

2 From an address to the Nevada Agricultural Society, quoted in the Nevada **Territorial Enterprise,** October 9, 1889, p. 1.

3 Arthur B. Darling, ed., **The Public Papers of Franics G. Newlands,** 2 vols. (Washington: W. F. Roberts Company, Inc., 1937), vol. I, pp. 286-87.

4 **Ibid.,** I, p. 287.

5 **Ibid.,** I, pp. 287-89.

6 Article in San Francisco **Alta,** March 12, 1886, quoted by Lilley, "Early Career," pp. 176-77.

7 Darling, **Papers,** I, pp. 43-44.

8 U.S., Congress, House, 53rd Cong., 1st sess., March 27, 1897, **Congressional Record,** vol. 30, part 1, p. 416.

9 Darling, **Papers,** I, pp. 142-43.

10 A pamphlet, **Hawaiian Question,** speech of Hon. Francis G. Newlands, of Nevada, in the House of Representatives, June 3, 1898. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), pp. 8-9.

11 U.S., Congress, House, 56th Cong., 1st sess., April 6, 1900, **Congressional Record,** vol. 33, part 1, p. 3851.

12 U.S., Congress, Senate, 59th Cong., 1st sess., January 29, 1906, **Congressional Record,** vol. 40, part 2, p. 1675.

13 Darling, **Papers,** I, p. 292.

14 **Ibid.**

15 U.S., Congress, Senate, 59th Cong., 2d sess., December 4, 1906, **Congressional Record,** vol. 41, part 1, p. 31.

16 U.S., Congress, Senate, 59th Cong., 2d sess., February 16, 1907, **Congressional Record,** vol. 41, part 4, pp. 3098-99.

17 Darling, **Papers,** I, p. 296.

18 Carson City **Daily Appeal,** February 1, 1909, p. 1.

19 Carson City **Daily Appeal,** February 3, 1909, p. 1; Reno **Nevada State Journal,** February 4, 1909, p. 1.

20 Newlands's letter, addressed to Governor Dickerson and dated February 3, 1909, was reprinted in the Carson City **Daily Appeal,** February 5, 1909, p. 1, and the Reno **Nevada State Journal,** February 5, 1909, p. 1. The letter also appears in Darling, **Papers,** I, pp. 296-99. The three accounts are not identical. Since the newspaper reprints appear to be edited, the Darling account was used here as probably the most accurate.

21 By implication here and elsewhere, Newlands admitted to prejudice against the American Negro who could not share in his white America and who was not a foreigner, against whom Newlands claimed not to be prejudiced.

22 Again overlooking the American Negro who did not enjoy equal rights with white Americans.

23 Darling, **Papers,** I, p. 299.

24 Reported in the Reno **Nevada State Journal,** February 6, 1909, p. 1, and Carson City **Daily Appeal,** February 6, 1909, p. 1, and February 8, 1909, p. 1.

25 Darling, **Papers,** I, pp. 299-300.

26 **Ibid.,** I, p. 244.

27 **Ibid.,** I, p. 271.

28 U.S., Congress, House, 56th Cong., 1st sess., February 20, 1900, **Congressional Record,** vol. 33, part 2, p. 1994.

29 A pamphlet, **Hawaiian Question,** speech of Hon. Francis G. Newlands, of Nevada, in the House of Representatives, June 3, 1898. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), p. 11.

30 U.S., Congress, House, 56th Cong., 1st sess., February 20, 1900, **Congressional Record,** vol. 33, part 2, p. 2001.

31 **Ibid.,** p. 1995.

32 U.S., Congress, Senate, **A Democrat in the Philippines,** S. Doc. 103, 59th Cong., 1st sess., 1905, p. 2, reprinting an article of the same title from the **North American Review** of December 1905.

33 U.S., Congress, Senate, 64th Cong., 1st sess., February 2, 1916, **Congressional Record,** vol. 53, part 2, pp. 1988, 1994, 2000.

34 U.S., Congress, House, 54th Cong., 1st sess., April 4, 1896, **Congressional Record,** vol. 28, part 4, p. 3585.

35 Darling, **Papers,** I, pp. 167-68.

36 U.S., Congress, House, 57th Cong., 1st sess., February 7, 1902, **Congressional Record,** vol. 35, part 2, p. 1458.

37 U.S., Congress, House, 56th Cong., 1st sess., February 20, 1900, **Congressional Record,** vol. 33, part 2, p. 1994.

38 U.S., Congress, Senate, 59th Cong., 1st sess., February 9, 1906, **Congressional Record,** vol. 40, part 3, p. 2343.

39 Darling, **Papers,** I, p. 1.

40 Bancroft, **Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth,** IV, p. 91.

41 See footnote 20.

42 Reprinted in the Carson City **Daily Appeal,** February 6, 1909, p. 1, and the Reno **Nevada State Journal,** February 6, 1909, p. 1.

43 Darling, **Papers,** II, p. 338.

44 Newlands's comments as reported in the Carson City **Daily Appeal,** February 6, 1909, p. 1.

45 Best known for her alleged advice to farmers to "raise less corn and more hell."

46 Richard Hofstadter, **The Age of Reform,** (New York: Random House, 1955), pp. 83-84.

47 Eric F. Goldman, **Rendezvous With Destiny,** (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), p. 137.

48 **Ibid.,** pp. 190-91. It appears that Wilson, in this context, was referring in particular to his duty to maintain the position of the Caucasion race over the Oriental race.

Harlan Hague, a University of Nevada doctoral candidate, is presently studying in England.

DR. AND MRS. J. A. B. FRY
Dr. Fry was Pastor and Teacher of youth. He was serving at Grace Methodist Church, Stockton, California at the time of his death, April, 1954. The Methodist Research Library at the University of the Pacific is named for him.

MIRIAM HEALEY
Author and Historian

Dr. J. A. B. Fry

Miriam Healey

All over California there are people who loved Dr. Fry and considered themselves honored by his friendship. Most of them had been students at UC Berkeley during one of the pastorates of Dr. Fry at Epworth Methodist Episcopal Church South. They almost form a club, and his name is the magic password to a happy time of reminiscence. Everywhere he went he made friends, and in his friendship there was a warmth that is rare.

Some people called him Doctor, feeling that no other title matched his dignity and great knowledge; others called him Brother, a fitting title to them because of his warmth and unpretentiousness. I think he liked both, for his love of people made him their brother and his love of learning made him a doctor.

Brother Fry was a large man, six feet three or four in height, broad of shoulder and long of limb. He was born and reared in western North Carolina, and there he learned to stride along fast enough to eat up the miles but never too fast to see and enjoy the beauty and wonder of sky and trees, birds and flowers. His father, a Confederate veteran, died when John was a small boy, and his mother had a real struggle to rear her little family. But there was no bitterness in him. He never spoke of the War or the desolation which followed. By the time I knew him there were few traces of the South in his speech. When I spent part of a summer at Lake Junaluska, and I came back full of the beauty of the North Carolina mountains and the prettiest river I ever saw, the French Broad, he shared with me some of his knowledge and experience.

He brought his love of walking with him to California. In Berkeley he seldom rode the street cars, never owned a car, sometimes rode a bicycle, but usually walked. There was no part of the hills that he did not know, and he was always ready to lead a group of young people to some place of beauty and quiet, seemingly remote from town.

I remember particularly a little hike he led up Strawberry Canyon. There were only five or six of us that day, and he was enjoying introducing us to a more intimate way of looking at the beauty of nature. Out of his pocket came his little magnifying glass with which he would reveal to us the perfection of some

tiny insect or flower. It was on this hike that he showed me a dewdrop in the heart of a wild strawberry blossom, as fresh and beautiful as if it had just come from the hand of God.

I was a freshman when I took the first hike with him. It was planned for a moonlit night so that we could climb Mount Tamalpais and see the sunrise from the top of the peak. He was an excellent leader, careful to see that there were no stragglers and that no one became too tired. It was a night beyond compare, almost as bright as day. When the fog began drifting in from the ocean it gradually filled the canyons with soft, white down, which seemed luminous under the brilliant moon. We stood on the heights looking down on this fairyland of clustered lights and drifting fog while Brother Fry pointed out to us the towns that lay below. He walked beside every person at one time or another and knew us all. After watching the sunrise and having a brief service of praise and worship, we ate breakfast and started down the mountain, but this time he did not follow the trail. Straight down we went into Muir Woods. The lack of a trail did not bother him; in fact, I think he preferred to make his own.

Love of nature was one of Brother Fry's most outstanding characteristics. He loved it all—the grand, the majestic, the tiny wayside flower. He never tired of it. Often he would slip away to Patterson, where Dr. Ernest Allen and his wife would welcome him. With them he might have a few hours in the high Sierras or in Yosemite. Then he would return refreshed.

His love of books almost equalled his love of Nature. The wall of his study was lined from floor to ceiling with shelves, each one as full of books as possible, books of all sizes and kinds except light fiction. I don't remember ever seeing any fiction on those shelves, but perhaps there was some that he thought had lasting worth. Sometimes in preparation of his sermon he would draw on several authors and would come into the pulpit on Sunday morning carrying four or five volumes. I used to wonder why he brought them, for he never referred to them by name nor read from them. Probably he just absentmindedly gathered books and sermon notes together as he was leaving his study.

More than most men Brother Fry was self-controlled. He almost never betrayed the slightest annoyance or anger. His affection was expressed in the warmth of his handshake and smile, not in back-slapping or hugs. He was dignified but not cold. I never heard him reprimand or scold. I can't recall ever having heard

him complain. He had little ways of making suggestions rather than offering outright advice. For example, we were talking one day when he took my hand, studied the lines as if he were a palmist, gently brushed my hair back from my forehead and studied my face a moment, said a few of the more or less trite things usually spoken by amateurs, and then in the same quiet voice remarked, "You constantly underrate yourself, and that is as big a sin as pride or vanity."

In many ways he was a very simple man. He had no desire for wealth, no interest in keeping up with the Joneses. He had little concern about clothes, and sometimes appeared with baggy trousers, sagging pockets, and an ancient hat. His indifference to sartorial matters caused Mrs. Fry some embarrassment, but he never seemed to give a thought to his appearance beyond being clean and well-barbered. One time Mrs. Fry persuaded him to get a proper suit of morning clothes, cutaway coat, striped trousers, and all. He really looked handsome and distinguished. But when Sunday morning came, imagine Mrs. Fry's shock and chagrin when he walked into the pulpit wearing a pair of old *brown* shoes with the fine new clothes!

Dining by candlelight had no charms for Dr. Fry. He wanted to see what he was eating. So, if Mrs. Fry had set the table with candles, he would see the guests seated, ask the blessing, and then get up and turn on the electric lights.

In spite of the simplicity of his material needs and desires, Brother Fry was a very complex man with deep, strong loves and loyalties. He did not talk about himself or his concerns, he did not tell family anecdotes in his sermons, but one was always aware of his heartfelt devotion to his wife, daughter, and granddaughter. The Southern Methodist Church in California did not have the status of larger denominations and had few outstanding pulpits. Because of this, some ambitious preachers withdrew and joined churches which offered greater opportunity for personal advancement. I am sure tempting suggestions, even offers, must have been made to him, but he continued steadfastly in his church until unification.

Next to family and Church his greatest devotion was to learning. It has been said that he would have made a great professor of philosophy or theology, and doubtless this is true. These, plus nature study, were his interests. Two fields of knowledge in which he was not very much at home were music and painting. I never

heard of his attending a concert or an art exhibit. I do not mean to imply that he had no appreciation or taste in these fields, but rather that he preferred other areas of study.

He had a good ear for music and a clear, pleasing voice, but for some reason he never led the congregation in the hymns and seldom joined in to sing more than a few lines. So I recall with pleasure the one time I heard him sing by himself. It was sort of an accidental happening. One morning too early for the college students to start coming into my office, I was seated at the piano playing and singing hymns. Epworth Club quarters were on the floor above the church office and the pastor's study, but I did not think about being overheard. Suddenly, as I started the first verse of "Amazing grace, how sweet the sound", I heard Brother Fry's voice ring out. He was adding to the tune all the quavers used by the Southern mountain folk and obviously enjoying the old hymn. I kept playing and singing lest he should become aware that I was listening and stop. So in an odd sort of duet we sang every verse of the song. Neither of us ever mentioned it; so I suppose he did not realize he was heard.

He was not a preacher who used the same six or eight hymns year after year but chose from a wide variety. Of these there are two that I always associate with him. One was "When morning gilds the skies, My heart awaking cries, May Jesus Christ be praised!" Until he was my pastor I had never heard this inspiring hymn, but every line of it is an echo of his faith. The other one is "Jerusalem the golden, With milk and honey blest." He is the only preacher I have known who ever used this ancient hymn in a regular service. He would stand in the pulpit, his unusual height augmented by that of the dais, and gaze out over the congregation, a look of confidence in his eye. He made an impressive sight. I used to compare that look with that of an eagle, fearless in his eyrie high above the storm. One thought of Moses gazing out over the Promised Land.

Writing this paper has caused me to remember the impact Brother Fry made on people, the many who are thankful for having known him. I appreciate him more now than I did when I was young, being much more aware of the depth and strength of his inner life. I like to think that now he is numbered among the ten thousand times ten thousand rejoicing in the presence of their Lord whom they gladly served on this earth.

José Antonio Águila
Courtesy Bear State Library

The Chapel Complex at Rancho Santa Ana y Quien Sabe

F. F. Latta

José Antonio Águila was one of the earliest historians of Central California. A very intelligent person with an extremely intent interest and a retentive memory, he was a storehouse of late Spanish and early *Gringo* life in Alta California. Son of Antonio Águila and Paula Cantúa, both members of early California *ranchero* families, he spent eighty years in the saddle.

"Tony" took his first horseback ride in 1848 at the age of ten

days, when his father carried him from the Águila Ranchito at Aromas to Mission San Juan Bautista to be baptized. He quit riding in 1928 at the age of eighty because he found it necessary to get off his horse in order to read the brand on a cow.

Before he died in 1930, I had interviewed Tony over a period of more than twenty years. Among the intensely interesting accounts related to me by him was that of the Chapel, Indian Kitchen and Quarters for Padres that Manuel Lários had built on his Rancho Santa Ana y Quien Sabe, east of where Hollister now is located.

Data regarding this Lários complex was dictated between 1919 and 1930 and was consolidated in 1940. One interview took place when Tony was living in Patterson, two while he was living in Gustine, and six while he was living one mile north of Newman at his little ranchito, where he died.

About 1883 the walls of the deserted Lários buildings became unsafe. Preparations were made to tear them down. Before this was done a photograph was made of them. In 1969 photographer Pete Borovich of Hollister located a print of this old photo. He copied it and Mrs. Latta and I secured this copy print of it for our Bear State Library. All of this was most fortunate as the very existence of the old Lários Chapel, Padres' Quarters, Indian Kitchen and Indian Huts and Gardens was almost unknown to the present generation.

The photo of Tony was made in 1870 when he left the Romeros' Rancho Calaveras, now at the bottom of Calaveras Lake northeast of San Jose, and went to Rancho Santa Ana y Quien Sabe, there to take the position of *mayordomo* just vacated by his father. This is a wedding picture; Tony had just married one of Lários' daughters. He was twenty-two years of age. His account follows:

The Lários Indian Kitchen, Padres' Quarters and Chapel were in use when I was very young. I remember them as early as 1855. After I went to the Romeros in Calaveras Valley in 1858, I saw them for a short time each year when I ate there while the cattlemen were rodeoing cattle from around Mission San Jose south to the Cantúa Rancho (in western Fresno County).

In 1870 I went to the Rancho Santa Ana y Quien Sabe to take my father's place as *mayordomo* of Manuel Lários' operation there. The old Kitchen and Chapel were on that rancho. As part of my job I had charge of the Kitchen and the Chapel. With the adobe Indian cabins and the gardens it was a big layout, as big as some of the *misiones*.

The kitchen and dining room were built together, one big room. There were two long tables, each one at least thirty feet long, and benches on each side. The tables and benches were very heavy, hewed out of pine by the Indians. We had knives and forks, spoons, bowls, big tin cups and tin plates. The plates were bigger than the ones you see now.

The meals were cooked mostly in big pots. Lários probably got the pots at Mission San Juan Bautista. He got lots of things at the *misión.* He even rented Indians there, paid the Padres something each year for the use of them. That was while the *misiones* were going big. After the *misiones* were closed down (secularized), the Indians moved from the *misión* to some of their old *rancherías* in the Quien Sabe Valley and as far away as the upper Los Baños Creek. In my time some Indians lived in adobe and brush shacks behind the Kitchen, Padres' Quarters and the Chapel. The adobes had brush shades in front, and if there was a family living in them, small brush rooms behind for chickens. Some were used as bunkhouses by unmarried vaqueros and gardeners.

There was a large field behind the Indian adobes where the Indians raised vegetables: corn, watermelons, chili, *garbanzos,* cowpeas and beans. There were about fifteen of the small adobe cabins back of the Chapel, between the Chapel and the gardens. The vaqueros and gardeners and the men and women who worked in the house and kitchen lived in the cabins. Besides, there were about fifty Indians, of all ages, who lived in the *rancherías* in Quien Sabe Valley and over on the West Fork of Los Baños Creek, some as far down as the forks. Some of these vaqueroed for Lários.

For breakfast we had a big tin cup full of black coffee, a big beef steak and a big bowl of thick *atole,* or mush. The *atole* was made of parched corn grounds and was well seasoned with Indian herbs and seeds.

At noon we had all we could eat of beef pot roast with lots of potatoes, onions, tomatoes and chili cooked together. We had black coffee in those big cups that held about a quart. The coffee was made in a big kettle. Then, too, at noon we had a big bowl of *pozole,* another dish the Indians learned to make at the *misiones.* It was more of a soup than a mush and it had in it peas, meat, *garbanzos,* horse beans and chili. The Indian vaqueros ate with my father and me; Mr. Lários ate with us when he was there. The Indian kitchen help ate before we came into the kitchen and dining room. The Padres were served their meals in their quarters.

Complex at Rancho Santa Ana y Quien Sabe

We ate supper in the dark. Candles were going every two or three feet on the long tables. We could either have steak or more pot roast, or both, if we wanted them. And we had *tortillas,* all we could eat of them and all of that hot, black coffee we could drink.

The Indian women made the *tortillas* fresh for every meal. They were made from a wet paste. They did not grind it from dry corn. They soaked the corn in lye water until the hull was gone, then mashed and rubbed it into a dough. They made the dough into balls a little smaller than a baseball and patted it into big thin cakes and threw them on a *comal.* The *comal* was a thin flat rock over a fire of coals, generally charcoal. Some cooks used sheet iron to cook on, but at this kitchen the *comales* were of rock two feet across.

Then, at night, too, we had beef steaks if we wanted them. We always had all we could eat. Mr. Lários fed well. Nobody fed any better. My first wife was one of Lários' daughters. For about two years after my father retired to his little ranchito at Aromas, I took his place as *mayordomo* at Rancho Santa Ana y Quien Sabe. In the kitchen, the kettles and the *comales* for cooking tortillas and beef steaks were in a row against the outside wall with a fireplace under them and a smoke outlet just under the rafters.

During the rodeos, the vaqueros were generally fed at noon in the field. The cooked meal and coffee were carried from the kitchen on pack mules in big cans. The cans looked a lot like the cans the dairymen around here (Newman) now (1929) take milk to the creamery in, but they were made of lighter tin. They held about

seven or eight gallons. The lids fitted tight on the outside of the cans, not inside like the milk cans today do.

Always a can of coffee came along. After the cans were loaded onto a pack mule a couple of *mochilas* were thrown over them to keep them warm. *Mochilas* were saddle covers; they were like heavy quilts. In the field we were given our food out of the cans with dippers. We had bowls, and tin cups for the coffee.

Right close to the Kitchens were the sleeping quarters for the Padres. On special feast days two Padres came from San Juan Bautista, otherwise only one came at a time. They slept in these quarters which were furnished very nice.

About twenty-five or thirty yards from the quarters for the Padres was the Chapel. It was a large church, as big as the ones at some of the *misiones*. All three buildings were made of adobe bricks. My father had charge of the Indians when they put up the buildings for Lários. I think the walls of the Chapel were about eighteen or twenty feet high.

After Mr. Lários died nobody carried on the religious work at Rancho Santa Ana y Quien Sabe. The Lários family lost the rancho and the buildings went to pieces.

ON MARCH 29, 1948, A. L. KROEBER WROTE!

F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of their native culture still survived, in practice or in memory, than now. Yet Latta's wealth of precise facts again and again makes me aware of how much I missed that I might have recorded.

Latta's volume should be a source of pride to the patriotism of the San Joaquin Valley and a basis for its local history, as it surely is a contribution toward the general, comparative study of the cultures of the races of mankind.

A. L. KROEBER

March 29, 1948

Frank Latta writes about other things—but his *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* is a classic in the field.

Significant Firsts In San Francisco

(continued)

Mrs. Claire D. Sprague

CULTURAL ASPECTS

"Thou drawest all things small and great,
To thee, beside the Western Gate."
Bret Harte

Theatres

1850 Edward and Robinson were the proprietors of the Dramatic Museum on California Street between Montgomery and Kearney in 1850.

1851 Dr. Robinson opened the American Theatre in 1851 on the corner of Sansome and Holleck Streets, and did a great business there. Biscaccianti, under the management of George Loder, made her debut before a California audience in this theatre.[16]

1849 The theatre was a culture form that could respond to the stimulating influence of gold. Stephen C. Massett, an Englishman who liked to be billed as Jeems Pipes of Pipesville, was the first professional to take a turn. In June, 1849, he put on a one man act in San Francisco. In a rich baritone he sang several of his own compositions. He mimicked an operatic diva. Then he did a series of monologues, imitating Yankee characters. He ended with a seven part reproduction of a New England town meeting. Here in miniature was a foretaste of Gold Coast Theatre: a sentiment, a vein of broader humor, some burlesque, and a demonstration of versatility.

After Massett, San Francisco was visited by a minstrel company but its run was broken off when one of the "bones" was killed at Bella Union.

1849 On Kearney Street near Clay, Joseph Rome erected a large tent and billed a circus which consisted of nine acts, acrobats, equestrians, and a posing horse. For the rest of 1849 that was all the theatre that San Franciscans enjoyed.

1850 In January, 1850, the Eagle Theatre gave San Francisco a sample of legitimate theatre. The popularity of this type of entertainment prompted Rome to throw a platform across one end of his circus tent and substitute thespians for gymnastics and circus acts.

Soon Tom McGuire opened the Jenny Lind Theatre. Another figure in early theatrical history was Dr. David Robinson, to

1851 whom the city entrusted fifty thousand dollars in 1851 to build the Adelph. He also built the first American theatre. He was a partner in backing the Bryant Mistrels. Among the early artists in San Francisco were Elisa Biscaccianti, Kate Hayes, the Booths, Lola Montez, Thomas Briggs and Adah Menken.[17]

Modjeska's first performance in English was given in San Francisco and launched her on her great career. John Drew the elder and Joseph Jefferson made their starts there in burlesque. William A. Brady, David Belasco, David Warfield, Maude Adams all got their starts there. The great Louisa Tetrazzini made her American debut there at the top price of fifty cents. The tenor sang in English, the baritone in Italian, the soprano in German, but it was all one to San Francisco if they sang well. Isadora Duncan and others also got their starts in San Francisco.

Many of these "greats" were started on their way confidently and with assurance of their success before San Francisco had 300,000 inhabitants. San Francisco set an example to most Americans, in appreciating their own and helping them to get ahead.[18]

1850 One who looked on Lola Montez as a fairy godmother was a little girl named Charlotte Crabtree. Her mother had come out from New York and was running a boarding house. As a child of six, Charlotte had learned to sing 'Annie Laurie'.

Lola Montez liked the little girl, made a pet of her, taught her to dance, and took her to a camp known as Rough and Ready.

Lotta Crabtree is a part of Western history. She will live in tradition and romance when many an artist the critics classed as far greater has faded into oblivion.

Lotta Crabtree did much to encourage San Franciscans in their first attempts at recreation and a theatre.[19]

Library

1853 To withdraw youth from the haunts of dissipation and to give persons of every age the means of mental improvement and a place for leisure hours, was the main object for forming a library association. On January 25, 1853 the Mercantile Library Association elected its first officers. There was a great need for a library at this time because there was an absence of anything like a home. All classes seemed to frequent places of public recreation, drink, and gambling. The first president was J. P. Haven. The rooms were on the second floor of the California Exchange.[20]

Academy of Science

Apr. 4 1853 The forty-niners had hardly begun to comb the gold dust out of their hair when they took time out to make certain that future generations would have an important source of knowledge through the creation of the Academy of Sciences.

The Academy was born in a candle-lit room at 129 Montgomery Street in April, 1853. It was called the California Academy of Natural Science. Fifteen years later the word "Natural" was dropped from the title. The constitution of the Academy was June 2 1853 adopted April 16, 1853 and articles of incorporation were filed two months later on June 2. Its first museum was at Grant Ave. and California Street. In 1891 the museum was moved to 833 Market Street and Miss Alice Eastwood was made Curator. She held this position for fifty-six years. She retired at the age of 90.

After the 1906 fire a charter amendment was passed to permit the Academy to erect buildings in Golden Gate Park.

The first wing of the new structure with research headquarters adjoining was opened in 1916. Seven years later in 1923 the Steinhart Aquarium was opened. After that came the Simson African Hail in 1934 and the Alexander F. Morrison Planatarium, the Hall of Astronomy, the May T. Morrison Auditorium, the Lovell White Hall of Man and Nature and additional research laboratories in 1952.

Besides the exhibits that attract more than 2,000,000 persons each year, the institution has promoted such scientific ventures as the first systematic investigation of the rich natural resources of California.[21]

Artists

1860 Ed Jump came to San Francisco between 1860 and 1865. He was the first portrait painter and artist in the city, and in his time the only one. It was the period of the silhouette, the daguerrotype, and the ambrotype; the photograph came later. The daguerrotyper trundled his little cart along the boardwalks of San Francisco and took likenesses wherever he found a subject. Landscape artists were to be had but no portrait artists. The pioneer, ambitious to have a painting of himself, sent the little daguerrotype to China, to serve as a model for reproductions in oil; hence it is that surviving oil paintings of pioneers often bear the stamp of Chinese artists.

Jump was hailed for his unique genius and made the idol of the town. He drew directly from life. His subjects were the lowly as well as those in high places.[22]

1842 Ina Coolbrith, hailed as the Sappho of the West, was made the first Poet Laureate of California by a State resolution April 21, 1915. She was the only woman and the last member of distinguished California writers which included Bret Harte, Charles Stoddard, Mark Twain and Joaquin Miller. None equaled her in loyalty and love of the Golden State.

Her poems were printed in the *Californian*, a new literary week-
1864 ly founded in 1864. Glimpses of the real Ina Coolbrith of the 1860's are to be found in her early San Francisco poems. She contributed poems to the *Overland Monthly*, whose editor was Bret Harte. She early recognized the budding genius of Jack London.

A Perfect Day and Other Poems appeared in 1881. *Songs From the Golden Gate* is her best known volume.

Ruth Comfort Mitchell has written a grateful tribute to her.

"California, you have lost your lover,
The dryad of your redwoods and your pines.
She kept the sacred fires of romance burning:
She was the vestal virgin of your shrines."[23]

The City By the Sea—George Sterling

At the end of our streets is sunrise;
At the end of our streets are spars;
At the end of our streets is sunset;
At the end of our streets—the stars.

Even the winds of morning
Are cool from the flashing sea—
Flowing swift from our ocean,
Till the fog dunes crumble and flee.

Slender spars in the offing,
Mast and yard in the slips—
How they tell on the azure
Of the sea-contending ships!

Homeward into the sunset
Still unwearied we go,
Till the northern Hills are misty
With the amber of afterglow.

Stars that sink to our ocean,
Winds that visit our strand,
The heavens are your pathway,
Where is a gladder land!

At the end of our streets is sunrise;
At the end of our streets are spars;
At the end of our streets is sunset;
At the end of our streets—the stars.[24]

EDUCATION

"As well suppose that a game of Euchre,
Will fill your pockets with filthy lucre,
As think that teaching the city's scholars,
Will line your pockets with silver dollars"
—John Swett[25]

Father Francisco Palóu was the author of the first great California biography, *Relación Histórica de la Vida . . . del Venerable Padre Frey Junípero Serra,* written at Mission San Francisco and
1787 Carmel and published in 1787. The author is pronounced a true historian on whose statements one can depend implicitly. Brancroft says of Palóu's work: "It has been practically the source of all that has ever been written on California mission history down to 1784. Such a contribution is of inestimable value. It ranks high in the literature of California."

Francisco Palóu was born in Paima, Majorca, Jan. 22, 1726. As a professor in the Lullian University he distinguished himself as a man of profound learning. As a missonary in California his work under Fray Junipero Serra was invaluable.

Palóu's last days in San Francisco yielded his best works to posterity. Despite ill health he was able to complete a great book, truly a labor of love. This was his *Vida,* in which he set forth "the exemplary deeds and virtues of my honored father lector." With becoming humility he dedicated this crowning work at
1785 Mission San Francisco, New California, on February 28, 1785.

Herbert E. Bolton characterizes Palóu as a "diligent student, zealous missionary, fair minded historian of California, founder of Mission San Francisco and eloquent biographer of Junipero Serra."[26]

San Francisco's First Schools

1846 Soon after the American occupation, in 1846, the need for a school began to be felt. April, 1847, the first private school was opened by J. D. Marston in a shanty on the west side of Grant Avenue between Broadway and Pacific. This was also San Francisco's first school and was attended by twenty or thirty children, but it lasted only a few months.[27]

San Francisco's first school was also used as a church, amusement hall, and general assembly meeting place. Portsmouth Square
Mar. was the location of the first school.[28]

17 A teacher was appointed on this date, salary $1,000 yearly. On
1846 April third, Mr. Thomas Douglas formally opened the long delayed and much needed first school of San Francisco. It was for the instruction of both sexes. The committee that worked to bring this about consisted of Messers. Leidesdoriff, Glover, and Clark. They
Dec. had been appointed by the town council.[29]

26 The public school system of California had its beginnings in the
1849 First Baptist Church of San Francisco. The first free public school
Mar. was opened there on December 26, 1849 with three pupils. Mr.
25 John Pelton and his wife were employed at a salary of $500 per
1850 month to teach the class.[30]

1849 The California school record is in most respects parallel to beginnings of the churches. To this new scene, the early San Franciscan brought the studied conviction that education is a bulwark of the nation and that society must make provision for proper schooling of youth. There were children in towns and camps in California and with as much dispatch as was possible schools were opened. There was, of course, the dearth of suitable buildings, supplies, and qualified teachers.

The beginning was usually a private school, often under the auspices of a religious body and perhaps taught by a clergyman. In due course, quite a number of these schools were transferred into public schools.

The tribulations of teaching in these early schools were many. There were crowded conditions, long hours, and poor equipment.[31]

Happy Valley School

1850 A valley protected on the west from the sand hills of Market Street and sheltered from the harsh winds, was called Happy Valley. It was between First, Second, Market, and Mission Streets. It was

supplied with a good spring, and in the winter of 1849-1850, contained about one thousand tents. Mr. W. D. M. Howard put up a number of cottages that he had made in Boston. In 1850 a school was opened and became very flourishing. It became known as
Nov. 1851 the Happy Valley School. In November, 1851, it became the first public school opened under the city school system.[32]
Oct. 21 1851 The first city superintendent of Schools chosen by the Board was Colonel Nevins. Some were disappointed that Mr. Peyton was by-passed.[33]

The First High School

Aug. 25 1856 The first high school was established with difficulty. Public sentiment was not favorable at this time. Superintendent Nevins recommended it in November of 1852, and on August 25, 1856, it was finally established.

1853 On January 8, 1858 the name was changed from Union Grammar School to San Francisco High School. There were four teachers and the curriculum included mathematics, natural science, moral and intellectual philosophy, and modern languages.

Dec. 1859 The first class was graduated from San Francisco High School in December of 1859. There were eleven members in that first class. The State Superintendent at that time was Mr. Moulder.[34]

1854 State Superintendent of Schools Moulder was southern born and in 1854 separate schools for negroes were established. By 1872,
1872 however, the colored students were accepted everywhere. The first school for colored children was St. Cyprian Methodist Episcopal Colored Church at the corner of Jackson and Virginia Streets.
1854 There were 23 pupils and the negro teacher was Mr. J. J. Moore.[35]
Mar. 1854 In March of 1854, San Francisco College was established. It was called at first Trinity High School and was located on Bush street between Mason and Taylor, on a planked road. Board and room was $40-$60 per month.[36]
Sept. 1859 The first school for Chinese was in the basement of the Chinese chapel at Stockton and Sacramento Streets. It was suspended in 1860 for lack of pupils.[37]

Hubert Howe Bancroft was the first man of his time to make a thriving business out of history. His *History of the Pacific States* in thirty-nine volumes is a valuable contribution to the student of history today. He entered business as a bookseller in San Francisco in 1856. He collected over 1,000 books in order to make his writings more authentic. He had many helpers to gather materials for him from various localities. His unique library of history dates
1859 back to 1859, when William H. Knight, then in his service in an

editorial capacity, was asked to clear the shelves around his desk and reserve every book in the store having reference to the Western country. When he decided to begin his literary work he established a library in a fireproof building on Valencia Street.

In 1905 the Bancroft library was acquired by the University of California at Berkeley where it continues as a leading center of active research, with a constant stream of fresh accessions.[38]

In 1869 Hubert Howe Bancroft was only 37 years old and yet he was well along on a project which would make his name unforgettable over a large part of North America.

In his collecting he included maps, newspapers, books and pamphlets which his workers filed for use of historians and students. Most interesting of all are the personal memoirs of prominent Californians. Among these papers are the stories of Vallejo, Arguello, Alvarado and Pico.

Bancroft brought business methods to the collection of books. He was a wholesale collector of history. He became a wholesale writer as well as a wholesale collector. He continued writing until he was 84 years of age. He died March 2, 1918.[39]

In San Francisco's history can be found the name of many excellent schools and the results of their teaching had far-reaching results.

1867 The first class at the Bates School was begun in 1867. The
1878 Sarah Dix Hamlin School that is popular today, first opened its door in 1876.[40]

1863 San Francisco's first kindergarten began in September, 1863 at 41 So. Park Street. Professor and Madam Charles Mill were in charge.[41]

1861 When Henry B. James was Superintendent of Schools, San Francisco held its first teacher's institute. That was in 1861.[42]

1850 In 1850 Father Langlois began the first Catholic elementary
1851 school. In 1851 the Sisters of Charity began a Roman Catholic orphanage and School. St. Vincent's School today is an outgrowth of this work.

1854 The Presentation Order of the Sisters of Mercy opened their first Catholic School on November, 1854.[43]

The first building erected in San Francisco for Catholic Church and school work was one which Professor Gleeson of St. Mary's College called in his history of 1872 "a petty wooden shanty." It was on the site where later St. Francis' Church was built. The building was used as a dwelling place for clergy and for school and church services.

1852 Father Langlois and Father Flavien established a school at Mission Dolores in 1852.

1851 1851 marked the opening of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum and Free School Association of San Francisco.

1852 At the end of 1852 Bishop Alemany listed three schools in San Francisco: 1. Vallejo Street under Anthony Langlois in which all common English subjects were taught; 2. Happy Valley under Reverend John Maginnis; 3. Also in Happy Valley, with Sister Frances and other Sisters of Charity. Enrollment was 75, 80, and 75, respectively.[44]

1847 In April of 1847 a private school was opened by Wm. Marston, a Mormon. The school, taught by Thomas Douglas for two months, was a public school but not free. The first free public school
1849 opened on December 26, 1849, with three pupils attending the first day. It was a free private school; it became a free public school in April of 1850. Sam Brannan aided Mr. Pelton in the school taught by Tom Douglas. W. D. M. Howard was a generous benefactor of that first school.

1851 On September 5, 1851, in San Francisco the first Academy was begun by Rev. F. E. Prevaux, a Baptist minister. This pioneer
1854 high school went on with considerable success and built the first substantial building for educational purposes in 1854, when it assumed the name "English and Classical High School."[45]

1854 The first State Teachers' Convention was held on December 26, 27, and 28, 1854 in San Francisco.

1856 In August of 1856 began the San Francisco Evening School. This was California's initial venture into the field of Adult Education.

1857 The first weekly normal school opened in 1857.

1861 On May 27 to 31 in 1861 the first State Teachers' Institute was held.[46]

1880 The first kindergarten training school was opened by Kate Douglas Wiggin in 1880 with four pupils. John Swett was an interested and appreciative friend.

Kate Douglas Wiggin was truly remarkable for her versatility. She loved music and could have excelled as an actress. She had a rare talent as a teacher.

First of all, however, she was an author. She rejoiced in her work *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm.*

What she had she gave gladly, hoping it might help those who had less.[47]

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39 IBID.

40 Ferrier, OP. CIT., p. 142.

41 IBID., p. 163.

42 IBID., p. 83.

43 Cloud, EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA, pp. 49-53.

44 Ferrier, OP. CIT., p. 46.

45 IBID., p. 121.

46 IBID., p. 107.

47 Hunt, OP. CIT., pp. 575-580.

More to come in future issues of The Pacific Historian.

Letter From Allen W. Goddard

Mrs. Martha O'Bryon, Editor
The Pacific Historian
University of the Pacific
Stockton, Calif. 95204

Dear Mrs. O'Bryon:

Enclosed are photos—the Black and White enlargement of Matilda Gray Hewes, wife of David Hewes of the Golden Spike and linking of the transcontinental railroad fame. They were married (her second, his first marriage) about 1875. The portrait was painted in Italy during their honeymoon. In the 1880s they became residents of our area—first in the town of Tustin and later Hewes purchased some 820 acres of land north of Tustin and near the present town of El Modena building a beautiful hilltop home ("Anapauma") and having many acres of fruit trees planted along with grain and alfalfa. Hewes Park, a lovely landscaped park, unfenced, was well known to our group during our time as college students (then at Santa Ana Junior College).

Matilda Gray Hewes (Mrs. David Hewes). Painted about 1875. Taken without flash April, 1971.

Ferol Egan of Berkeley, a University of the Pacific graduate, has won a prestigious Commonwealth Club of California award for writing the best book pertaining to California history by a resident of this state during 1970.

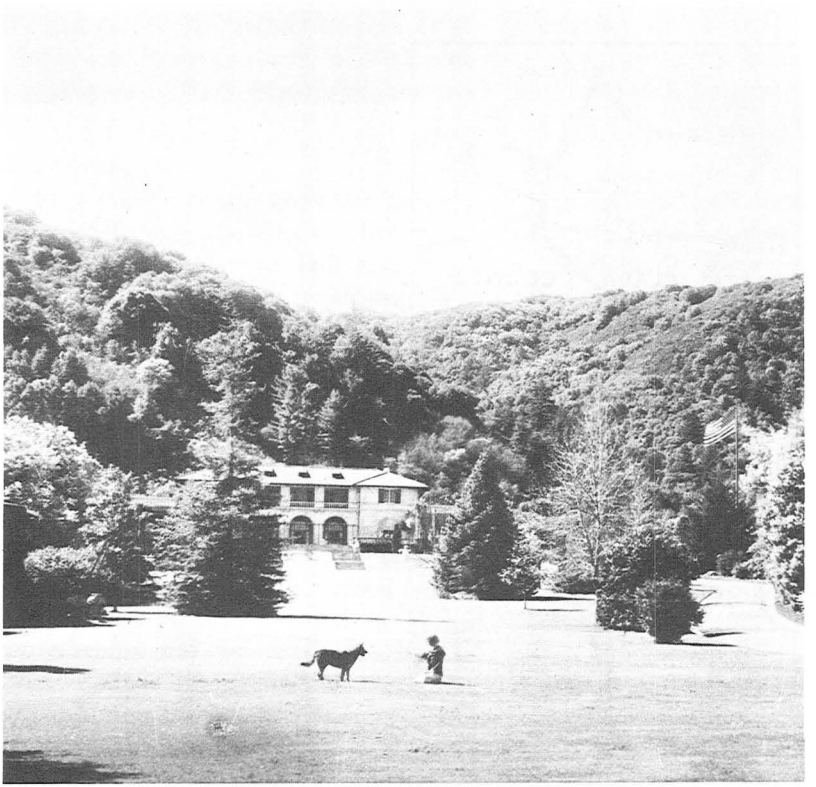
Egan will receive the Silver Medal for California at the club's 40th Annual Literature Awards Luncheon in San Francisco on June 11. The award to Egan is for his book "The El Dorado Trail," which is part of the American Trail Series of McGraw-Hill Book Company.

The prize-winning book concerns the various routes taken by American gold seekers on their way to California during the Gold Rush era, and it concentrates on the routes through Mexico.

"The El Dorado Trail" is the first book written by Egan, although the freelance writer and historian has edited other historical publications. The Berkeley resident is associate editor of "The American West" magazine and helped design the Indian section of the Oakland Museum.

Egan received two degrees from Pacific in English, a B.A. in 1946 and M.A. in 1950. He also taught English at UOP while studying for his master's degree.

Egan is a fourth-generation Californian who was raised in the Mother Lode community of Jamestown and graduated from high school at Sonora in 1942.



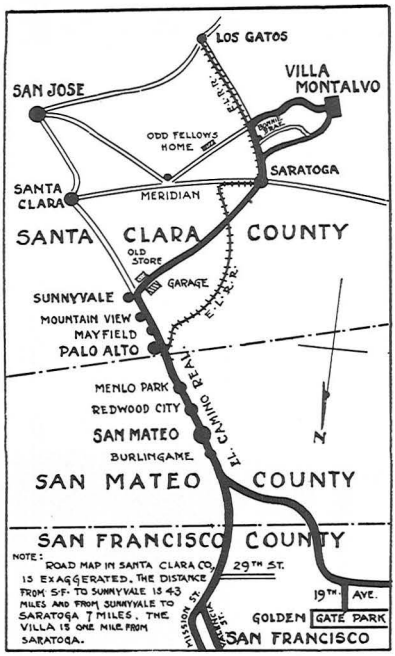
Phelan built Villa Montalvo in 1912 and willed it to the public in 1930. Expansive lawns slope eastward from the main house at the foothills, ending at the formal gardens below.

Into Dust Thou Shalt Return

JAMES P. WALSH

"I declare on my honor that I have never been married and never have been a parent of a child in or out of matrimony and that no claim to the contrary has ever been made by any one during my life, but in case any one claiming or pretending to be my wife or child or grandchild should establish such claim in any court or competent jurisdiction to each such person I give and bequeath the sum of $50."

While James Duval Phelan pondered his will's last paragraph, then scrawled his name, death waited. Ending an abundant life as



AUTO ROAD TO VILLA MONTALVO

As a host of international repute, Phelan centered his social activities at Montalvo. Invitations frequently included his inverted map from the City.

a wealthy capitalist, respected civic leader, generous patron of the arts, and a modest dilettante himself, San Francisco's ex-Mayor arranged for the dispersal of the accumulated wealth of two highly successful generations. As the bon vivant's physicians and their consultants parried death's thrusts, Phelan's attorneys arranged his estate. Sensation gradually deserted him and toward the end he was unable to feel even his cigar, until then a close and gingerly held companion. On August 7, 1930, shortly before sundown, he felt nothing at all. Life ended.

This San Franciscan had enjoyed a head start toward what life could offer men of large affairs and he lived it well from the Gilded Age to the onset of the Depression. His immigrant father, who created the family fortune in gold-rush San Francisco, had smoked cigars too, but five-centers. Once asked why his tobacco wasn't as expensive as his son's, the elder Phelan shot back, "I do not have a wealthy father." Under this forceful paternal guidance James forsook his aspirations for a career at the California bar and

instead joined his father in real estate speculation and banking. The senior Phelan's death in 1892 conferred on James great financial responsibilities—responsibilities which he tended well but never allowed to interfere with pursuit of the good life in pulsating San Francisco.

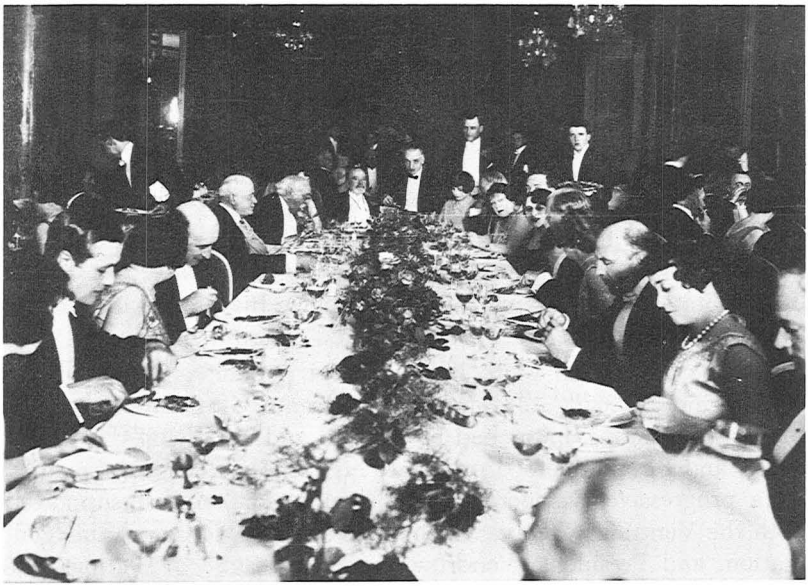
As a jaunty young bachelor he enjoyed negotiating his French automobile over the City's cobblestones. He appreciated being included in a Telegraph Hill artistic coterie, particularly since he entertained no illusions regarding his own literary abilities. At the home of Mary Edith Griswold of *Sunset Magazine,* the future United States Senator mingled with Ambrose Bierce, David Belasco, Gertrude Atherton, Luther Burbank, and Joaquin Miller.

All this and much more Phelan could ponder as he sat dying considering his will. As a turn of the century reform Mayor, he served three terms untouched by scandal and, following the Earthquake and Fire, he helped prosecute his successor, Eugene Schmitz. As a progressive Democrat in the Senate, Phelan had supported both the Versailles Treaty, which resolved the holocaust of his generation, and President Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations. He toured the world, collected objects of art, and commissioned more. Prima donnas appreciated his roses and at least one entreated him to see her on the quiet.

Other pleasurable moments included business-free weekends convivially consumed at his magnificent country estate, Villa Montalvo, at the base of the Santa Cruz foothills in Saratoga. This nineteen-room Mediterranean style villa, standing on a 175-acre site, is surrounded by formally appointed gardens and thick woodlands. Complete with guest house, amphitheater, and pool (since filled in), it might be considered a modest millionaire's alternative to San Simeon.*

Defeated for reelection in Warren Harding's Republican landslide in 1920, the Senator lived out his retirement years in a manner befitting the 1920's: weekdays atop the Phelan Building in his penthouse, with Friday motorings to Montalvo. There on manicured greens immediately adjacent to the Villa, Phelan hosted Boy Scout jamborees, the Notre Dame football team, and the United States Navy; aristocrats, poets, authors, and public men lunched with him on the broad east terrace where, between sparkles in the conversation, each drank in the horticultural beauty which separated them from the statuary below.

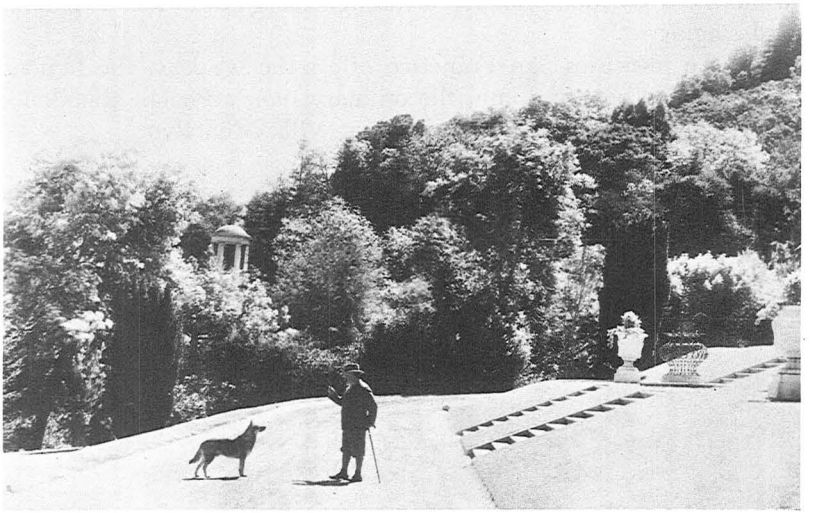
Serving as San Francisco's honorary host to touring mankind, Phelan set the social tone by the size of his parties and the dis-



Paris was the location of the banquet in honor of Helen Wills, who shared the head of the table to the Senator's left.

Miss Wills sketched the Senator during an Atlantic crossing in 1926.

On less formal occasions, Phelan imbibed the amenities of the Bohemian Grove and shared Montalvo's solitary grandure with Boz.



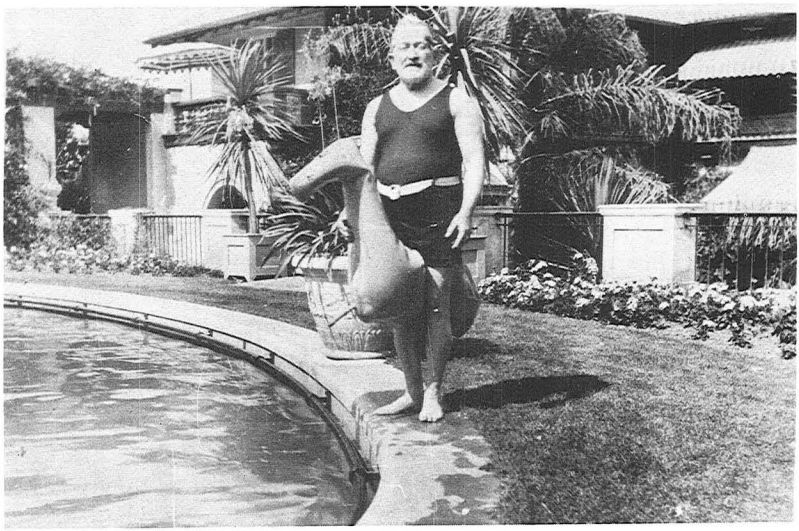
tinction of his numerous guests. But like other social lions he too favored a select inner circle for personal association. The many mingled with ease in the Villa's salon-sized main living room. Some were even at home in the upper level guest rooms. But only the few shared the intimate confines of the softly lit library. Gertrude Atherton recalled with pleasure the frequent presence of Noël Sullivan. In young manhood this future patron of San Francisco artists charmed and delighted the seasoned novelist as they warmed themselves at the fire and talked of books. Edwin Markham shared the poet's corner with a less well known, but locally popular George Sterling.

California was Phelan's center of focus—its poets, authors, editors, even its esteemed publisher, Alexander Robertson of San Francisco. Only they viewed the Santa Clara Valley in spring blossom from the friendly warmth of the Senator's study. While his inner circle tended toward experience and accomplishment rather than beauty and youthful vigor, Helen Wills very nicely filled both categories. A Phelan favorite, he toasted her in San Francisco and feted her at Montalvo for her prowess on the tennis court and the resulting fame she brought to his beloved state.

As fireside conversations flickered effortlessly from books to travel to art, Robertson's talented son enriched the already sensitive library motif. Perched at the foot of the grand spiral staircase, he tenderly plucked at the strings of his lute. Late, as the embers glowed and the intimates shared beef and fish, white wine and champagne, faint hints of haunting melodies drifted by moonlight while the troubadour wandered through the gardens below, playing and singing.

All the pleasures San Francisco offers the wealthy, the famous, the wise, the beautiful, and the ordinary, James Phelan abandoned as he spent his last summer dying at Villa Montalvo.

*It also differs from Hearst's castle in that it is conveniently open free to the public. Phelan bequeathed it to the people for the promotion of the arts.



When his guests left, the urbane bachelor also enjoyed splashing in the water with his rubber duck.

WHO ARE THESE MEN?

We know the young lady, she was Emma Noble Wallingford, mother of Paul W. Wood of San Francisco. Mr. Wood and his sister would like to have these early graduates of Napa College identified.

California's Colorful Corner

ROBERTA M. McDOW

In the northeastern corner of California, near the Nevada and Oregon borders, lies a valley of history. Emigrants called it Surprise Valley when they looked onto its unexpected wealth of water and grass[1] from hard-gained desert moutains.[2] Surprise Valley it is today, in name and feature, for its sixty-mile length is packed with relics of the Old West. There are pioneer trails, early dwellings, Indian habitations, and decaying Army structures. Collapsing gold mines scar nearby hills. Here is just about everything associated with the settlement of the West.

Three alkali lakes lie in the valley—Upper, Middle and Lower Lakes, from north to south respectively. The valley itself is somewhat like the inside of a crescent formed by the Warner Mountains. On the eastern side, the valley ends at the higher desert which changes imperceptibly from Modoc County, California to Washoe County, Nevada.

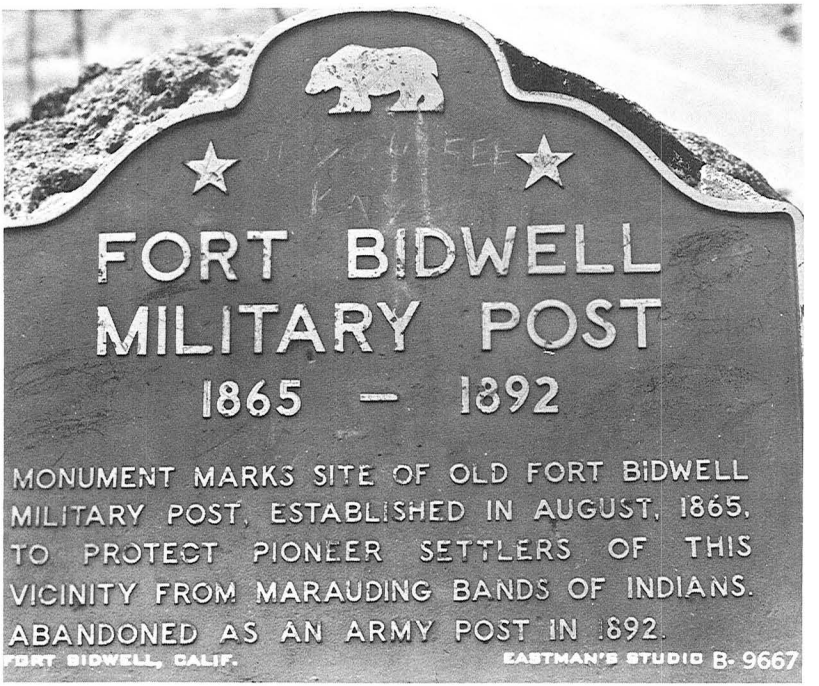
Few cartographic additions have been made to this area in the twentieth century. Today's Forest Service map bears a striking resemblance to the valley as it was drawn in 1892 by the U. S. Geological Survey.[3]

The one valley highway, a county black-top continuing southeast to Nevada's state highway 81 from Gerlach, follows the old road that was laid between the mountains and the western shores of the lakes. The four Surprise Valley communities, each with its own interesting and distinctive character, are along this route.

Eagleville, named after nearby Eagle Peak, is located on a line between Middle and Lower Lakes. From here to the southern end of Lower Lake, the valley is alive with cattle and the accompanying activities of working ranches. In contrast, Eagleville is a quiet, timeless settlement. The old livery stable is flanked by tall trees on Main Street, the valley highway. The sign is still legible and the stable appears to need only a coat of paint, new shingles and a few horses to put it in business again.

The metropolis of the valley is Cedarville. Here the only California state highway in the area, 299, comes through Cedar Pass from Alturas along the old Bonner Grade. It continues east over Middle Lake to Nevada where it becomes state highway 8A to Vya.

Home of the Modoc County Fair, Cedarville knows the value



of preserving its past. The century-old, log Cressler and Bonner Trading Post, the first building in Cedarville, is now the site of a city park. The merchants' next store, a red-brick, iron-shuttered building on the main street, has been recently restored.

Lake City is the oldest of the four communities.[4] Just off the valley highway, it is little more than a group of buildings seemingly unorganized into business and residential sections.

At the north end of the valley, on Upper Lake at the foot of the Warner Mountains, lies Fort Bidwell, the former Army post that made Surprise Valley reasonably safe for settlers. It is here that much of the valley's colorful history is concentrated.

Indians were, of course, the first men in the valley. At the time of its first exploration by white men, the Fort Bidwell area was part of the Paiute territory.[5] How many times this well-watered, fertile area had changed hands in the past can only be imagined, but the Paiutes must have known there would be another contest for possession when white men stumbled wearily and gratefully into the valley.

The John Work party in 1832, is generally credited with the first white sighting of the valley.[6] Fremont was east of it in 1843.

It was entered by the Applegate party in 1846, and by Lassen in 1848. In 1849 Captain William H. Warner of the Army's topographical engineers was ambushed and killed by Indians close to Surprise Valley in the mountains that would afterwards bear his name.[7]

By this time there were two well-established trails in the area—the Applegate Trail and the Lassen Trail, which was a southern cut-off from the first. The trails separated at Fandango Pass in the mountains southwest of Fort Bidwell.

But for one wagon train the trail led only to death. In 1855 one train of 200 persons saw Goose Lake from the pass and mistook it for the Pacific Ocean. They jubilantly celebrated with a Fandango dance which was abruptly ended by an Indian attack. To this day careful hunters can find souvenirs of this tragic event.[8]

Until 1864,[9] no white man made an attempt, at least not a successful one, to settle in the valley. Although Lake City had been laid out the preceding year, no settlers had come to it.[10] But in 1864 there was a drought in California. Ranchers drove their cattle to the grass of Surprise Valley and some of them liked it well enough to stay.[11]

Thomas Bare was probably the first to settle in the valley, choosing the southern end[12] where the Bare ranch operates today.

Settlers came to the northern end of the valley, too. In the spring of 1865, the McConnaughy brothers planted the first crop in the region and one of them, Robert Franklin, built the first building in what was to be Fort Bidwell.[13]

The settlers brought with them the seeds of civilization and also its need for security. To protect them from "marauding bands of Indians,"[14] a United States military post was established between Upper Lake and the Warner Mountains. On July 17, 1865, Captain Augustus W. Starr with Company F and part of Company H of the Second California Cavalry occupied the post. Named after John Bidwell, then a Congressman from California, it was designated a fort until 1866, a camp until 1879 and then a fort again[15] until its abandonment in 1893.[16]

The Indians were not frightened away, however. In the fall of 1865, half of the cavalry's horses were stolen by Indians.[17] The next January, one band surprised the McConnaughy brothers and destroyed or stole all their property including ten oxen, a span of horses, a cow and a calf. The new fort was unable to aid them so their neighbors divided their limited supplies to feed and clothe the brothers. The thieves were subsequently trailed to a stronghold where, it is alleged, eighty Indians and one soldier were killed.[18] The seeds of civilization had been watered with blood.

The original post grounds, located and surveyed by Major Al-

Inside Kahn's Store, Fort Bidwell

bert S. Williamson, who had been with the ill-fated Captain Warner in 1849,[19] were a three by one mile tract of land. Ironically, several settlers who had wanted the Army's protection in their efforts to displace the Indians in the area, were themselves evicted from choice sites to accomodate the new fort.[20] The first buildings were made of logs,[21] but the post offered a notable luxury—cold and *hot* running water thanks to the warm springs that flowed through the area.[22]

In 1867, 110 soldiers led by Lieutenant Colonel George Crook battled about an equal number of Indians west of the Warner Mountains near the site of Alturas.[23] One of the major skirmishes undertaken by troops from Fort Bidwell, the Battle of Infernal Caves, is particularly interesting because the Indians took refuge and used as fortifications the lava caves and outcroppings on the site. In the Modoc War the Indians would again use this type of terrain to their advantage and to the surprise of the Army.[24]

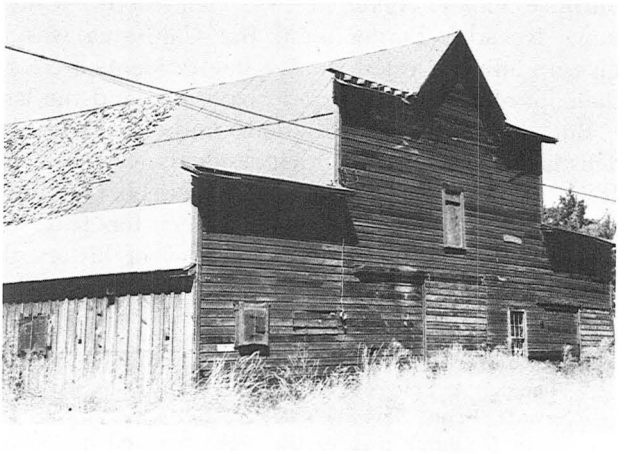
Fort Bidwell troops also participated in the Modoc War of 1872-1873,[25] but although that was the last major Indian battle in California, the post continued to operate and expand. The grounds had been extended and new buildings were under construction in 1874.[26] By 1877, the year the accompanying photographs were taken, the fort was a well-developed installation.

The town of Fort Bidwell was also undergoing a building program. Kober's Store, owned by a relative of the post's medical officer,[27] was operating in 1875.[28] Lowell's sturdy stone store was opened in 1876 and in the surrounding grasslands the ranches that were the backbone of the area were built and developed.

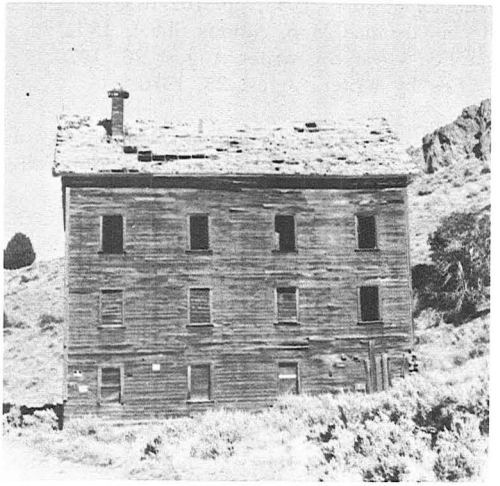
By 1893, twenty years after the Modoc War, the Army post of Fort Bidwell was abandoned. That the fort continued its operations into the last decade of the nineteenth century is evidence that this area, one of the last in California to be settled, was also one of the last to be considered secure. In fact, Surprise Valley was the setting for the last Indian uprising in the United States. Four valley ranchers were killed in 1911. Their attackers, some twenty men and women, were trailed and slaughtered in Nevada at Little High Rock.[29]

But in the twentieth century Indian battles were the exception rather than the rule. The abandoned fort had become an Indian school in 1898[30] where Indian children played instruments in the band, and learned trades as well as traditional classroom skills. Now firmly rooted in the valley, civilization was trying to claim the children of its old enemies.

And gold had been discovered in the hills north of Fort Bidwell. There were visions of another '49 era bringing wealth to Surprise Valley[31] and Fort Bidwell was ready for it. In 1912 it boasted 400 people, "three general merchandise stores, a bank, two hotels, flour mill, two livery stables, a blacksmith shop, weekly newspaper, drug store and butcher shop" as well as a schoolhouse, a church and a warm mineral spring.[32] The gold-plated dream failed to become a reality, however, and Fort Bidwell continued to rely on its livestock for its prosperity.



Livery Stable



Grist Mill
Fort Bidwell Today

In 1930, the Indian school closed its doors but what remained of the old post continued to be Indian property.[33] Lowell's and Kober's stores stayed open and still operate today, but other businesses closed, people moved away and buildings crumbled. Those who stayed began to develop strong feelings about being forgotten by the rest of California.

In response to this kind of thinking, Nevada Assemblyman Don Crawford from Vya, a Nevada community east of Surprise Valley, introduced a resolution in 1947 that would readjust the California-Nevada border.[34] Four years later Crawford tried again asserting he had support from Californians in the area affected,[35] including Surprise Valley. Again in 1955[36] and 1959[37] Crawford sought to move Nevada's border west. But California was not disposed to give up any real estate, and valley residents are forced to continue their lot of being the "first to pay taxes and the last to get roads."

But there are compensations in being isolated and forgotten. This is the kind of valley that residents want to keep to themselves. It is the kind of stumbled-on Shangri-La that visitors seize upon but only vaguely mention to others for fear an avalanche of tourists will spoil it all. It is a valley of history that has not yet been covered by the indifferent sands of progress.

1 Pat Olmsted (Patricia Fee Givan), "The Nevada-California-Oregon Border Triangle: A Study in Sectional History." M. A. thesis, University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada, 1957, p. 189.
2 David H. Burr's map of the west, prepared in 1840, shows New York Lake but none of the larger Surprise Valley lakes just a few miles west and south of it. See "Eight Maps of Discovery," **The National Geographic Magazine**, Vol. CIII, No. 6, June, 1953, pp. 762-763.
3 U. S. Geological Survey, Reconnaissance Map, Alturas Sheet, 1892.
4 Interview with Mrs. Patricia Fee Givan by writer August 26, 1970.
5 Interview with Laurance J. Fee by writer August 25, 1970.
6 Pat Olmsted, **op. cit.**, p. 16.
7 Fred B. Rogers, "Fort Bidwell." State of California Department of Natural Resources, Division of Beaches and Parks, San Francisco, California, 1959, pp. 2-3.
8 "Modoc County History," p. 2 and "Recreation Modoc County," p. 2. Modoc County Chamber of Commerce, Alturas, California, no date.
9 Interview with Miss Elsie Kober by writer August 25, 1970.
10 Interview with Mrs. Patricia Fee Givan, **op. cit.**
11 Interview with Laurance J. Fee, **op. cit.**
12 Pat Olmsted, **op. cit.**, p. 93.
13 R. A. French, "Modoc County." The Alturas Plaindealer, Alturas, California, 1912, pp. 49, 52.
14 California Registered Historical Landmark Number 430, Fort Bidwell, California. "Fort Bidwell Military Post 1865-1892. Monument marks site

of Old Fort Bidwell military post established in August 1865, to protect pioneer settlers of this vicinity from marauding bands of Indians. Abandoned as an Army post in 1892."

15 United States Department of the Army, Resume of Fort (Camp) Bidwell.

16 Army records list the date of abandonment as 1893 rather than 1892 which is given in state materials.

17 Fred B. Rogers, **op. cit.**, p. 11.

18 R. A. French, **op. cit.**, p. 49.

19 Fred B. Rogers, **op. cit.**, p. 6.

20 Pat Olmsted, **op. cit.**, p. 215.

21 U. S. Department of the Army, **op. cit.**

22 Fred B. Rogers, **op. cit.**, p. 7.

23 Mildred Brooke Hoover, Hero Eugene Rensch and Ethel Grace Rensch, Revised by William N. Abeloe, **Historic Spots in California**, Third Edition, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1966, p. 209.

24 Harry V. Sproull, "Modoc Indian War." Lava Beds Natural History Association, Tulelake, California, pp. 11-13.

25 **Ibid.**, p. 10.

26 U. S. Department of the Army, **op. cit.**

27 For an account of Dr. Kober's experiences at the fort see George Martin Kober, **Reminiscences.** Washington, D. C., Georgetown University, 1930.

28 Interview with Miss Elsie Kober, **op. cit.**

29 "Modoc County History," **op. cit.**, p. 3.

30 R. A. French, **op. cit.**, p. 35.

31 **The Bidwell Gold Nugget,** Vol. 1, 1907 and Vol. 2, 1908.

32 R. A. French, **op. cit.**, p. 24.

33 Mildred Brooke Hoover, et al, **op. cit.**

34 **Los Angeles News,** June 23, 1947. See also Roberta Blakley McDow, "A Study of the Proposals to Divide the State of California from 1860 to 1952." M. A. thesis, College of the Pacific, Stockton, California, 1952, pp. 104-106.

35 **San Francisco Chronicle,** November 29, 1951.

36 **Stockton Record,** February 28, 1955.

37 **Stockton Record,** March 21, 1959.

Roberta M. McDow

LASSEN VOLCANIC NATIONAL PARK'S MANZANITA LAKE: A BRIEF HISTORY

DOUGLAS HILLMAN STRONG

Some three centuries ago (c. 1660), a gigantic mass of dacite lava broke away from the northern side of "Chaos Crags," the series of lava plugs that lie northwest of Lassen Peak in north central California. The huge avalanche swept down the Crag's western slope, crossed two miles of relatively flat land, and came to rest against the side of Table Mountain. The rock debris ("Chaos Jumbles") diverted Manzanita Creek from its original course and dammed it up. This created Manzanita Lake — a mountain jewel that was eventually to become a lodestone for visitors to Lassen Volcanic National Park.[1] The story of this lake from its geologic origins to the present day is an interesting chapter in the history of northern California.

At the time of the massive slide, when this short history begins, the Atsuge Indians of the Shastan-speaking Atsugewi inhabited the area. Their permanent camps were several miles to the northeast in Hat Creek Valley, but in the summer they would move up into the mountains for a change of scene and to escape the valley heat.[2] Fat, eighteen-inch trout abounded, and the Indians dried much of their plentiful summer catch for winter consumption.

When white men entered this mountainous region in the middle of the 19th century, they found Atsuge Chief Shavehead in control of the southern half of Hat Creek Valley, the area around Manzanita Lake, and the northern slopes of Lassen Peak.[3] Shavehead and his band usually got along peacefully with their Indian neighbors and the early white pioneers, but in the 1850's hostilities broke out along the Pit River, and the Atsuge were among many Indians removed to the Round Valley Reservation across the Coast Ranges in Mendocino County.[4] For most of the Atsuge this was a temporary dislocation only. They were soon back in home territory, and Shavehead and his small band (perhaps fifty had survived the encroachment of the white man) fished in Manzanita Lake for many years and sold their catch to ranchers and lumbermen in the foothill country. Old Shavehead died in the summer of 1900, but a few Atsuge, principally those known as the "Brown families," continued to use the Manzanita Lake fishing grounds, probably as late as

Lassen Peak over Manzanita Lake
Courtesy Park Service

1914 and 1915 when the Lassen Peak eruptions muddied the water and killed the fish.[5]

The Lassen Peak country remained largely unknown to white men until the gold rush. Pierson B. Reading, prospecting in the foothills, was among the first to see Manzanita Lake. He reported stocking it with "fierce-eyed silver-sided fish" by carrying them in buckets from Lost and Hat Creeks.[6] The real opening of the region came when Nobles Trail became a popular route for crossing the mountains. The trail ran half a mile north of the lake and connected the Big Bend of the Humboldt River with the northern Sacramento Valley. It provided an easy mountain crossing via Nobles Pass, just two or three miles east of Manzanita Lake, and was widely publicized by William H. Nobles of Shasta City.[7] In 1854 alone, over 3,200 men, women, and children with 33,000 head of livestock passed Roop's Fort (Susanville) on the trail bound for the Sacramento River.[8] The following year, Sam Lockhart established a Yreka route that branched from Nobles Trail near Manzanita Lake and added to the traffic. [9] Nobles Trail, or Nobles Road as it was sometimes called, remained a major thoroughfare

until the Central Pacific Railroad reached the Humboldt in 1867 and diverted travel farther to the south.

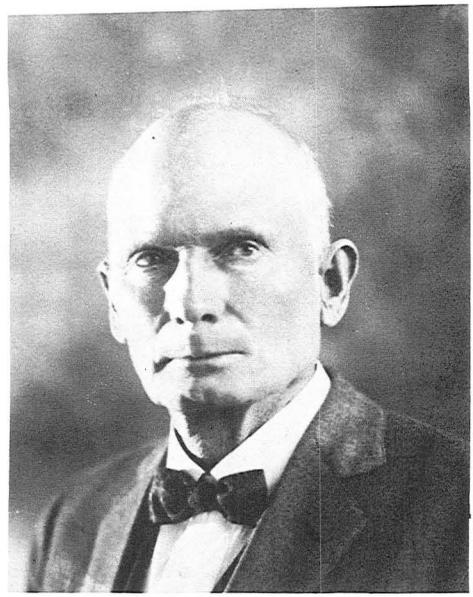
The Nobles route was so popular that it had long been considered a possible right of way for the first transcontinental railroad. To investigate this possibility, in July, 1854, Lieutenant E. G. Beckwith led a reconnaissance party from Fort Reading via Canoe Creek (Hat Creek) to Nobles Pass and back. After looking over other possibilities as well, Beckwith concluded that the best route for a railroad from the Humboldt to the upper Sacramento was via Nobles Pass. [10] The following year Lieutenant Henry L. Abbot also investigated possible railroad routes from the Sacramento Valley to the Columbia River and reported his preference for the Nobles Pass crossing. From the pass he noted the fine view of "Lassen's Butte" to the south.[11]

Despite the real advantages of the Nobles Pass route, however, Donner Pass far to the south was selected for the Central Pacific Railroad.[12] Local people in the upper Sacramento Valley were disappointed to be by-passed, but at least Manzanita Lake was spared the loss of its peaceful mountain atmosphere.

For the remainder of the 19th century, the lake remained primarily a retreat for local citizens. Residents of the lumber mills of the Shingletown area fished the lake and hunted in its vicinity; sheepmen and cattlemen drove their stock up the Manzanita Chute (a narrow trail through the thick manzanita) past the lake and into the high summer grazing range beyond; and sportsmen from the Sacramento Valley and the San Francisco Bay Area sometimes visited the slopes of Lassen Peak and camped by Manzanita and other entrancing lakes of the region.

One visitor, Benjamin F. Loomis, decided to build a shelter by Manzanita Lake. As a child in 1857 he had come west in a covered wagon. Then, in the summer of 1874, he camped by the lake in a temporary hut and began cutting shakes for a living. A few years later he built a substantial cabin along the Emigrant Road below Manzanita Chute and continued his occupation as a shake maker.[13] This man was later to become one of the most influential figures in the history of the lake, and indeed of the whole region.

About 110 yards north and slightly higher than Manzanita Lake lay another lake about one-third as large.[14] It had been formed when water filled one of the major depressions in Chaos Jumbles. Known at different times as Stockton Lake, Mud Lake, Catfish Lake, and Mirror Lake, it finally received a name that stuck: Reflection Lake. In 1857, Dr. John E. Stockton, a prominent local

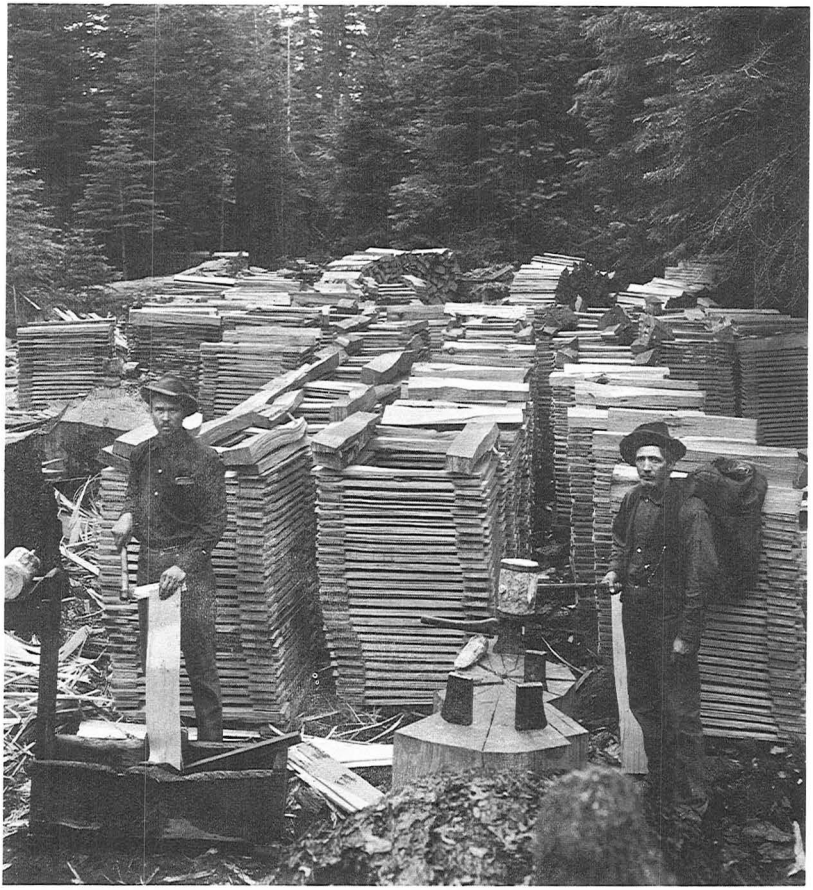


Benjamin Franklin Loomis
Courtesy Park Service

citizen, physician, and surveyor, stocked it with minnows from Hat Creek, and two years later he and William H. Coffey began the development of "Little Manzanita Lake" (at *they* called it) for "fish culturing purposes."

Stockton and Coffey filed on water rights in Manzanita Creek so that they could divert it for use on their fish farm and for agricultural purposes.[15] Stockton planned also to cut ice from the lake in winter, store it in an ice house, and sell it during the summer to people in the valley below. A stranger visiting the region in 1878 found Stockton living on the banks of the small lake. The minnows, now grown to nearly a foot in length, could be seen jumping from the water, and the enthusiastic visitor felt that "some enterprising man should build a hotel on the banks of Manzanita Lake and invite people to visit this truly romantic and pleasant summer retreat."[16]

In 1883 Coffey acquired a patent to forty acres of land that included the southeast corner of Reflection Lake. He apparently did little more to develop the property, however, which twenty years later (in 1904) passed into the hands of the Herbert Kraft Company Bank of Red Bluff. Later that same year, Walter Armstrong bought the property for an estimated eighty dollars, not because he wanted it but because the bank sold it along with 360 acres elsewhere that he really did want.[17]



Shake-making, Shingletown, 1877

Courtesy Park Service

In the last years of the 19th century, the country near Manzanita and Reflection Lakes, especially the Viola-Shingletown area, prospered from lumbering, grazing, and farming, but by 1910 the growth of these homeowned and operated businesses had been curbed. By acquiring water rights, the power companies acquired control of the land as well, thereby eliminating many local ranches; and the United States Forest Service, which had jurisdiction over Lassen National Forest (established in 1905), placed restrictions on sheepmen and cattlemen, thereby greatly reducing grazing, while at the same time it controlled large tracts of timber.[18] Moreover, T. B. Walker, a Minnesota timber magnate and owner of the

Red River Lumber Company, after buying up much of the privately owned timber lands in the Viola-Shingletown area, decided not to develop them.[19]

Between 1901 and 1906, Albert (Bert) W. Smith, a prominent Shingletown lumberman, dominated developments at Manzanita Lake. He acquired title to 120 acres of select state land, filed for a 160-acre homestead, and filed for rights to water from Manzanita Lake and its outlet for use on his homestead and on property farther downstream. He then hired a man by the name of Thad Webb to build a cabin and "prove up" on the claim for him.[20]

In 1902 Webb built a one-room 12 x 12 foot cabin near the inlet, and later moved it across the lake next to the outlet. Here he grew a small garden of radishes, onions, cabbage, turnips and lettuce and started a diversion ditch westward from the right side of the outlet. He lived at the cabin until Christmas, 1902, and again for six months in the following year. When Smith made a cash entry and received a patent to the homestead in July, 1904, he virtually controlled Manzanita Lake.[21] But two years later, in November, 1906, he sold his 280 acres to H. H. Noble of San Francisco, for an undisclosed amount.[22] Noble in turn deeded the land to the Northern California Power Company. With this transfer of property and with the gradual closing of the old timber mills below Manzanita Lake, a new era dominated by the power companies was ushered in.

As far back as 1893 the Shasta County World's Fair Committee had noted optimistically that various speculative proposals had been made to take water from Manzanita Lake and from major rivers such as the Pit, for the purpose of providing irrigation and hydroelectric power for farms and towns of northern California.[23] In 1900 Noble had initiated the first such project when he organized the Keswick Electric Power Company, primarily for the purpose of supplying power to the Mountain Copper Company. The Keswick Company, which completed its first power house at Volta in 1901, became the Northern California Power Company in 1902, and rapidly absorbed a number of smaller power companies.[24] By 1906 it already owned so much land that it had itself gone into the cattle and lumber businesses.[25]

On acquiring the land around Manzanita Lake from Noble, the company set about clearing the brush and debris from the natural channel of Manzanita Creek. This increased the flow from the lake across National Forest land to one of the company's reservoirs which had previously not received any flow except during

high water.[26] Next the company proposed to utilize Manzanita Lake as a reservoir to help produce power at the Volta Power Plant. It planned a dam 500 feet in length, ten feet high, and eight feet wide at the top, with timber sheeting on the inside surfaces.[27]

When actual construction began in 1911-1912, however, the volcanic rock in the area proved so porous that it was impossible to raise the lake's level more than two feet. The company, unable to discover where the water disappeared, abandoned the project.[28] This was the second time in its history that the lake region was saved fortuitously from serious depredation. The first time was when the Central Pacific Railroad chose Donner instead of Nobles Pass for its right of way. This time the porosity of volcanic rock proved to be its salvation.

Thus it was that when Lassen Peak erupted in 1914, both Manzanita and Reflection Lakes were still undeveloped except for a couple of cabins and a useless dam. The eruption had far-reaching effects on the whole region. Silt and ash significantly reduced the size and depth of Manzanita Lake, and the mud flows from the 1915 eruptions brought such muddy water down Manzanita Creek that the trout died and the lake remained a milky color for two to three years.[29] One immediate effect was that tourists, newsmen, and scientists poured into the area to observe the volcanic activity. Benjamin F. Loomis, for instance, who had by this time moved to Viola, practically commuted between his home and the Peak, as he compiled a photographic record of the intermittent 1914 and 1915 eruptions.[30]

The widespread publicity in newspapers and magazines across the country, coupled with the active efforts of such men as Arthur L. Conrad of Red Bluff, M. E. Dittmar of Redding, and especially Congressman John E. Raker of Alturas, led to the creation of Lassen Volcanic National Park in 1916.[31] The new park, however, did not include Manzanita and Reflection Lakes, although they had been a way-station for the many visitors to the area during the eruptions. There were two decisive reasons for this restriction of the park boundaries. In the first place much of the land around the lakes was privately owned. In the second place the Forest Service opposed the inclusion of the area around the lakes, which was under its administration, as had been the area from which the park was created. Naturally, the Forest Service was loath to lose control of any more territory.

The first major development of the lake region was initiated by

Loomis when he employed his sawmill crew of about ten men, headed by Fred Hootman, to build a road from Manzanita Lake up the creek to Crescent Meadows at the foot of Lassen Peak. From there they constructed a trail to the summit. This was the principal route for hikers for many years. Loomis also had Hootman complete a road from Manzanita Lake across the Devestated Area, the land covered by the mud flow of May 1915.[32] Then in 1916 Loomis established a hotel at Viola, providing the earliest accommodations for park visitors on the west side of the mountain, and together with Dittmar worked for the development of the western approach to the park.[33]

While the lakes eventually gained importance because of their location at what became the west portal to the park, they were largely neglected during the first fifteen years of the park's existence. Most tourists in the 1920's visited the resorts on the south side of the park because the easiest approach to the park was via an improved road from Red Bluff to Susanville. The road from Redding to Manzanita Lake remained barely passable, and there were as yet no facilities at the lake except for campers.

Active development of the park itself began only after the mid-1920's when the Lassen Volcanic National Park Association, headed by Conrad and Dittmar, succeeded in getting Congress to

Hauling logs to Loomis saw mill at Viola.
Courtesy Park Service

appropriate funds for the project. Even then the initial appropriations were spent principally on the south side to begin construction of the loop highway into the park. Dittmar, who knew the area well, proposed extensive road construction within the park, which would have extended the roads begun by Loomis and Hootman.[34] His proposals were not acted upon, however.

In 1924, Dittmar also proposed an extension of the park's northwest boundary to include Manzanita and Reflection Lakes.[35] Both Dittmar and Loomis stressed that Manzanita Lake was obviously the site of the future major portal to the park, and therefore the best site for a permanent park headquarters. But in 1928 Mineral, on the south side, was selected instead, for several reasons. Mineral was already the temporary headquarters; it was situated along the only improved road near the park; and the Forest Service offered to turn over to the Park Service eighty acres of its land for the purpose.

Proposals for a major extension of the park boundaries met continued opposition despite the fact that the existing boundaries were obviously unsatisfactory. The Forest Service objected strenuously to transferring to the Park Service any extensive tracts of land of potential economic value. A. E. Weislander of the Forest Service specifically opposed adding the Manzanita Lake region to the park. He pointed out that more than 75 per cent of its area was capable of producing good timber, that it provided forage for eighty-two cattle, and that the lake, the principal scenic attraction outside of the park, was in private hands. He was satisfied that the existing park boundaries separated everything that was truly important to a park from land whose chief value was economic, and therefore should not be changed.[36]

In the summer of 1927, a joint field investigation headed by S. B. Show of the Forest Service and Thomas C. Vint of the Park Service led to a legislative compromise. Vint pointed out in his report that Manzanita Lake, the one area suitable for tourist use near the northwest boundary of the park, was visited by as many people each year as visited the park, that the lake shore was used as a campground, picnic area and starting point for hiking to the summit of Lassen Peak, and that the privately owned lands, which fortunately had not been commercially developed, were used freely by tourists. He contended, on the basis of these facts, that the Manzanita Lake region should be part of the park.[37]

Dittmar actively supported Vint's proposal for an extension of the park boundaries, and was anxious to include the "volcanic

Fortunately the Park Service is aware of this danger. It is one that confronts it everywhere. The situation at Manzanita Lake

phenomena associated with Chaos Crags eruptions and the Pioneer Emigrant Road" which skirted Manzanita Lake to the north. He pointed out that the Emigrant Road would provide the best approach from the west via the Manzanita portal. He kept in close touch with Congressman Harry Englebright, who introduced a Park boundary extension bill in March, 1928.[38] The Forest Service was opposed to the boundaries as set out in the bill, and offered a compromise which, Dittmar felt, set the boundary too close to the lakes. He feared that hunters would be a danger, and that there might be unsightly developments nearby.

With perserverance Englebright succeeded in formulating an acceptable compromise. Although the settlement left the boundary close to the lakes, it did include the Chaos Crags area and part of the Emigrant Road and excluded a Forest Service proposal that part of the original park be returned to its control. On January 19, 1929, Englebright's bill became law, and Manzanita and Reflection Lakes were finally brought within the boundaries of Lassen Volcanic National Park.[39]

Now the problem was how to acquire the lands in the lake area that were still privately owned. Some time earlier Loomis had volunteered to buy the forty-acre tract that included a corner of Reflection Lake, still owned by Walter Armstrong, and to turn it over to the National Park Service for building and administrative purposes, retaining for himself only the right to ask later for certain concessions. In 1926, after being warned that Armstrong might increase his price of $1000 if he discovered the federal government's interest in the area, Loomis hastened to make the purchase.[40] In the following year he directed construction of the Mae Loomis Memorial Museum, dedicated to his only daughter who had died seven years earlier. With the passage of Englebright's park expansion bill in 1929, the Loomises lost no time donating their property to the Park Service.[41]

This left Manzanita Lake, the key piece of privately owned property, still in the hands of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, which had owned it since 1919 when P. G. and E. acquired control of Northern California Power Company. Horace M. Albright, Director of the National Park Service, met with two P. G. and E. vice-presidents in May, 1929, and suggested that the land be donated to the government as a public gesture. He explained how important this area was to the park and that the government currently had no money for the purchase of private lands. The officials cooperated by holding the property off the market al-

though they had received three separate offers from private parties who recognized its potential as a resort.[42] After further negotiations Albright and A. F. Hockenbeamer, president of the company, agreed on a price of $30,000, half of which the company donated as a gift.[43] Early in 1931, P. G. and E. deeded its 280 acres, which included Manzanita Lake, to the United States government.

That same year Lassen Volcanic National Park was officially dedicated with the opening of the Loop Highway connecting Manzanita Lake with Mineral via the slopes of Lassen Peak. On one day alone, July 25, over 15,000 people visited the park. This event marked the coming of age of the park, which ever since has had increasing numbers of visitors each year.[44]

Now that Manzanita Lake was part of the park, the Park Service could proceed to develop the area for public use. First it tore down three or four old "nondescript" buildings which were not in accord with national park standards.[45] With this step, all evidence of the pioneer cabins was gone. Construction of a campground began right away, and the Civilian Conservation Corps added many improvements. Manzanita Lake became the "education headquarters" of the park. By 1933 park rangers offered nightly campfire programs, museum talks, automobile caravans, and nature walks around Reflection Lake.[46]

Late in 1932, two park rangers, Don Hummel and Charles E. Keathley, applied for and received concession rights in the park. With the financial backing of Dallas Dort, they formed Lassen National Park Camp, Ltd., and in 1933 completed an attractive lodge building and nine cabins at Manzanita Lake. Here, during the summers, they offered meals and cabin accommodations, grocery supplies, gasoline, oil, and boat rentals on Manzanita and Reflection Lakes. Business prospered despite the depression, so that two years later they constructed a large dining room, ten double housekeeping cabins, and an addition to the lodge.[47] New facilities were added as necessary: a cafeteria and tent cabins in 1946, a new store in 1956, and in 1966 the Park Service completed a camper service building. Thus Manzanita Lake became and has remained the center of park visitation and public accomodations.

Although the beauty of Manzanita Lake and the Lassen Peak region has enriched the lives of many people, its very beauty has now become a danger to the lake itself. In the early years, through various fortunate circumstances, the lake was spared the environmental damage incident to railroad construction, and escaped being used for water storage or for private resort development. And until

fairly recently, its relative isolation and lack of good roads have combined to keep down the number of visitors. Today, however, because of better roads into the area, and an ever increasing number of vacationers and tourists everywhere, the lake's beauty and the quality of its environment are threatened by overuse.[48]

Fortunately the Park Service is aware of this danger. It is one that confronts it everywhere. The situation at Manzanita Lake is simply one example of a very pressing conservation problem—how to determine for each national park, on the basis of its size and nature, the amount of use it will sustain without permanent injury, and without ultimate loss of its esthetic and recreational values. It is to be hoped that a method of appraising the capacity of individual park areas will have been devised, and a program predicted on such appraisals put into effect, before time runs out on beautiful and vulnerable Manzanita Lake.

1 Paul E. Schulz, **Geology of Lassen's Landscape** (Mineral, Lassen Volcanic National Park, 1959), pp. 52-54. Many early pioneers recounted how they could look down through the clear water and see the tops of tall trees which had not yet decayed beneath the surface. For example, see B. F. Loomis, "The Noble Pass," typed manuscript in 101-06.4 The Noble Trail, Lassen Volcanic National Park Headquarters. The Park collection is cited hereafter as LVNPH.

2 The Indians' permanent camps could air out before another season of winter confinement. Adan E. Treganza, "An Archaeological Survey of Aboriginal and Early Historic Sites of Lassen Volcanic National Park, California," typed manuscript, LVNPH.

3 Thomas R. Garth, **Atsugewi Ethnography,** Anthropological Records, XIV, No. 2 (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953), pp. 129-176; Carmen Schuler, "George Frederick and Elizabeth Schuler and Early Days in Eastern Shasta County," **Covered Wagon** (1962), 29; and B. F. Loomis, "The Noble Pass."

4 Asa Merrill Fairfield, **Fairfield's Pioneer History of Lassen County** (San Francisco, H. S. Croker Co., 1916), p. 180. Also see San Francisco **Bulletin,** September 1, 1856, and Sacramento **State Journal,** September 6, 1856.

5 **Shasta Courier** (Redding), December 15, 1877; Mrs. Emma Wilcox, "Charles Winthrop Wilcox," **Covered Wagon,** VII, No. 5 (1950), 51-52; and an interview of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Armstrong of Deer Flat by Park Naturalist Harry Robinson, August, 1944, typed notes in 101-06.2 Local Indians, LVNPH; and interview of Leo McCoy by Douglas Strong, June 18, 1969. McCoy drove sheep past the lake between 1895 and 1913. Also see Anna Scharsch DeBow, "This and That About Lassen Park," 1965, typed copy at Kraft Library, Red Bluff. DeBow spent her childhood at Scharsch Meadows.

6 As told by J. E. Stockton in "Snowy Shasta," San Francisco **Chronicle,** May 13, 1887.

7 Mrs. Carl Swartzlow, "The Noble Trail," **Covered Wagon** (1957), 21-22. William Asbury who traveled Nobles Trail in 1852 claimed that he was the first white man to see the lake.

8 **Shasta Courier** (Redding), October 21, 1854.

9 Interview of Leo McCoy.

10 Lieut. E. G. Beckwith, Report of Explorations for a Route for the Pacific Railroad on the Line of the Forty First Parallel, in the United States War Department's **Reports of Explorations and Survey . . .** 1853-54, II (Washington, Beverly Tucker, 1855), pp. 54-58, 62.

11 **Report of Lieut. Henry L. Abbott . . . upon explorations of a railroad route from the Sacramento Valley to the Columbia River,** 33rd Cong., 2d Sess., H. Ex. Doc. 91, VI (Washington, 1857), p. 60.

12 For the advantages of Nobles Pass, see "Pacific Railroad," Red Bluff **Semi-Weekly Independent,** September 26, 1862. Also see Robert Amesbury, **Nobles' Emigrant Trail** (Robert Amesbury, 1967), p. 36.

13 Estella M. Loomis, notebook on the life of her husband, B. F. Loomis, written in pencil, n. d., in "Loomis Family General file, LVNPH.

14 Reflection Lake is 14 acres, Manzanita Lake 53 acres.

15 Shasta **Courier** (Redding), July 7, 1877; and Recorder's Office, Shasta County Courthouse, Misc. Records Books I, p. 295. For a time they raised timothy hay and vegetables.

16 "A Trip To Manzanita Lake," **Daily People's Cause** (Red Bluff), September 18, 1878.

17 Assessor's Office, Shasta County Courthouse, Shasta Land Office Transcript-East, p. 263. Also see the interview of the Armstrongs. Coffey sold this and other land to Francis Harris, August 2, 1902. The bank gained control of the property early in 1904.

18 Interviews of Leo McCoy and the Armstrongs.

19 B. F. Loomis, "The Shingle and Shake Business in the Shingletown Country," typed manuscript in 101-06.9.3 Shingletown-Viola Area file, LVPNH.

20 Recorder's Office, Shasta County Courthouse, Water Rights Book I, pp. 264, 337-38, 469, 526; Assessor's Office, Shasta County Courthouse, Shasta Land Office Transcripts-East, p. 263; and interview of Thad Webb by Harry Robinson, Fall, 1945, typewritten notes in 101-06.6 The Manzanita Lake file, LVNPH. Webb received thirty dollars per month for residing at the cabin.

21 Recorder's Office, Shasta County Courthouse, Patents, Book 6, p. 159.

22 Webb estimated that Smith sold out for $14,000. Interview of Webb.

23 **Resources of Shasta County, California** (San Francisco, A. J. Leary, 1893), pp. 8-9.

24 Interview of G. R. Milford by Douglas Strong, June 17, 1969. Milford joined Northern California Power Company in 1903 and spent 45 years in utility development. See Charles M. Coleman, **P. G. and E. of California** (New York, McGraw Hill, 1952), pp. 288-89.

25 Interview of McCoy. For evidence of the Company's lumber interests, see **Pacific Coast Wood and Iron,** LII, No. 11 (December 1909), 13.

26 Letter from F. E. Olmsted, District Forester, to the Forester, April 22, 1909, in National Archives, Record Group 95, Forest Service Records, Division of Recreation and Land Use, Box 1701.

27 Frederick Hall Fowler, **Water Supply Paper 493,** Department of the Interior, U. S. Geological Survey, Hydroelectric Power Systems of California (1923), p. 227, as quoted in a letter from W. G. Vincent, vice-president of P. G. and E., to Superintendent John C. Preston, July 26, 1938, LVNPH.

28 Interview of Milford. Anna Scharsch DeBow, a teenager at the time, saw the effects of a flood which tore out a 30-foot section of the dam. Interview of DeBow by Douglas Strong, June 20, 1969. Apparently the flood came after the company abandoned the project.

29 As the results of efforts by William Rice of Anderson, thousands of young rainbow trout were transplanted from the state hatchery to the lake in 1918. Interview of Wm. Rice by Harry Robinson, August 26, 1943, typewritten notes in 101-06.6, LVNPH.

30 B. F. Loomis, **Pictorial History of Lassen Volcano** (San Francisco, California Press, 1926).

31 39 **Stat.,** 442.

32 Interview of Fred Hootman by Douglas Strong, June 20, 1969. The road to Crescent Meadows undoubtedly is the present fire road which starts at the top end of the Manzanita Lake campground.

33 Anna Debow, "This and That About Lassen Park." Mrs. Ignatius Scharsch began taking boarders at her home in Scharsch Meadows in the summer of 1917. Also see Loomis, **Pictorial History,** p. 129.

34 Letter from Dittmar to W. B. Lewis, September 2, 1924, in National Archives, Record, Group 79, National Park Service Records, Lassen Volcanic National Park, File 602 Boundaries.

35 **Ibid.**

36 Letter from Stephen Mather, Director of the National Park Service, to W. B. Greeley, Chief Forester, February 28, 1927, in National Archives, R. G. 79, LVNP, File 602-1, Lands-Boundaries Extension.

37 Letter from Vint to the Director, January 10, 1928, in National Archives, R. G. 79, LVNP, File 602 Boundaries.

38 For example see letters from Dittmar to Englebright, April 21 and 23, 1928, in National Archives, R. G. 79, LVNP, File 120-01 Legislation HR 11719.

39 45 **Stat.,** 1081. See letters from Stephen Mather to Horace Albright, April 23, 1928; to Englebright, April 26, 1928; and to Dittmar, May 1, 1928, in National Archives, R. G. 79, LVNP, File 120-01 Legislation HR 11719.

40 Memorandum for the Director by Bert H. Burrell, Acting Chief Civil Engineer, December 16, 1925, National Archives, R. G. 79, LVNP, File 601-01 Lands-Administrative Sites.

41 Estella Loomis, story of her life, in pencil, n. d., in "B. F. Loomis Writings" file, LVNPH; letter from A. E. Demaray to the Commissioner, General Land Office, July 9, 1929, in 604-Donations file, LVNPH; B. F. Loomis, "Why We Built The Museum," typed manuscript attached to a letter from Loomis to the Director (NPS), May 28, 1935, in "Loomis Museum Gift" file, LVNPH; Letter from Loomis to the National Park

Service, November 16, 1932, in National Archives, R. G. 79, LVNP, File 900-05, Public Utility Operators-B. F. Loomis, Misc.

The museum, built of native rock by Rollo Arbuckle, housed Loomis's fine collection of volcanic eruption photographs. The exhibit, combined with a seismograph building and an annex devoted to wildlife displays, proved so successful that visitation passed 16,000 in the summer in 1932. The Loomises lived in a residence on the property and sold postcards and film until the death of B. F. Loomis in 1935.

42 Carl Bachem, Memorandum for the Director, May 20, 1929, National Archives, R. G. 79, LVNP, Lands-F. J. Solinsky file.

43 Confidential Memorandum of Albright, August 15, 1930; and letter from Solinsky to Director, November 14, 1930, in National Archives, R. G. 79, LVNP, Lands-F. J. Solinsky file.

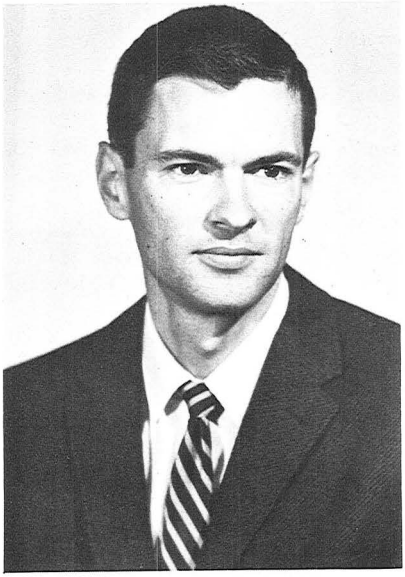
44 Letter from L. W. Collins to the Director, July 29, 1931, National Archives, R. G. 79, LVNP, File 100-01 History Dedication.

45 Letter from Superintendent Collins to the Director, September 4, 1931, in 101-06.6 The Manzanita Lake Area, LVNPH.

46 Annual Report of the Superintendent (1932), copy at LVNPH.

47 "Report" for LVNP-1933, in National Archives, R. G. 79, LVNP, File 207-001.4 Reports Annual; and Annual Report of the Superintendent (1935), LVNPH, cellar files.

48 A Park Service master plan study (1965) revealed another serious problem, the possible extinction of the lake from silt. Data from "A Summary of Park Lakes (From Moffet's Report of 1942)," in 101-06.6, LVNPH, revealed that the maximum depth of the lake was 32 feet. Early pioneers estimated the depth at 100 feet. Most of the silt has accumulated since the eruptions of 1914-15.



Douglas Hillman Strong

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Special field of interest: Conservation history of the United States, particularly the history of the national parks.

LOOKS AT WESTERN BOOKS

TEXTBOOKS AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN by the American Indian Historical Society. The Indian Historian Press, Inc., 1970. $4.25.

Reviewer: ROBERT E. SMITH, *Oklahoma State University.*

The authors maintain that there is a difference between a book for classroom use and one for general reading. In the first case, the student has no freedom of choice, and he is compelled to study from an approved text, while in the second case, he has freedom of choice. The authors contend that a text must be accurate, truthful, and objective. In this volume, they have evaluated more than three hundred books which are used as texts or supplementary books in social science programs in Indian and public schools across the United States. They have attempted to assess the books' acceptability to the needs of American Indian students.

These evaluations are the work of thirty-two Indian students, historians, and scholars in other fields related to the social sciences. The reader is able to capture the American Indian attitude toward the texts that are being used in America's schools and to determine what the Indians believe should be done to correct the misconceptions and errors which are so evident in these books.

Unfortunately, the authors make some of the errors that they are trying to remove from school textbooks. On page 29, when evaluating *Our Country's History* by David Muzzey, the following quote is used: "The Plymouth Colony consisted of only a few thousand people scattered in ten small towns. Half of these were wiped out by the Narraganset [sic] Indians in King Philip's terrible war of 1675." The evaluation states that history relates the courageous struggle of Philip and his people against the depredations and land grabbing of the English colonists. One of the themes of the evaluators is that textbook authors confuse students by not making clear references to tribal membership and by allowing inaccuracies to

exist. Yet the leader of the Narragansetts was Canonchet, and Philip was a Wampnoag. No mention of these facts is made by the evaluator.

On page 43 the authors state that Oklahoma was opened to white settlement in 1898, thereby missing the actual date by nine years. While evaluating a Georgia state history textbook on page 76, the authors allow the statement that the Americans came to Georgia during the period of Reconstruction to stand unchallenged. One could ask, "Who were the inhabitants of Georgia in the period 1776-1865?" On page 111, the evaluator makes the positive statement that the majority of the people in America in 1790 were Indians. This statement is open to question.

When castigating *Mississippi: Yesterday and Today* by John K. Bettersworth, the evaluator makes a questionable recommendation. He contends that Angie Debo's *Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (1934) should replace this book in the Choctaw Indian School. While Debo's book is the recognized authoritative book on the history of the Choctaw Indians, it is questionable whether it would be an adequate state history for high school students.

In a review of *The Northwest* by Walter Havighurst on page 107, the evaluator quotes the following passages: "The Dutch bought Manhattan Island at the mouth of the Hudson, from the Indians," and "Scotch-Irish settlers moved into the frontier areas of Pennsylvania where they cleared the land and fought the Indians." It is difficult to place these events in the history of the Northwest. The authors state, "discussing the various crops of the *Northeast,* [my italics] no mention is made of Indian contributions such as tobacco, corn, arts, inventions." It is obvious that the evaluator has reviewed the wrong book.

Other inaccuracies exist in *Textbooks and the American Indian,* and only a few have been mentioned in this review. The quality of scholarship is uneven in this book; the level of ability of the evaluators varies throughout the volume.

Notwithstanding its inadequacies, this book is an important contribution to an understanding of the problems faced by American Indians as they attempt to set the record straight and provide Indian students with a history of their heritage. It should be read by teachers and curriculum supervisors so that they will realize that inaccuracies and/or anti-Indian bias exist in America's social science textbooks. Then, perhaps, a fresh approach will be taken by authors of textbooks which will insure the rightful place of the native American in our nation's instructional materials.

NOTICIAS DE NUTKA: AN ACCOUNT OF NOOTKA SOUND IN 1792 by José Mariano Moziño. Translated and edited by Iris Higbie Wilson. Foreword by Philip Drucker. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970. 142 pp. $8.50.

Reviewed by NOEL J. STOWE, *Assistant Professor of History, Arizona State University*

Iris H. Wilson has produced a carefully edited, translated, and well annotated edition of José Mariano Moziño's important account of the Nootka Sound area of Vancouver Island. Moziño was the botanist who accompanied the well known 1792 expedition of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra on its mission to settle Nootka claims and to resolve Spanish-English problems along the Northwest Coast. While Bodega y Quadra concentrated on diplomatic problems, Moziño focused on scientific work. His subsequent writing resulted from this four month visit in 1792 and describes the Nootka area. As Wilson pointedly notes, the importance of Moziño's work was that it turned out not to be "the usual botanical report." Instead what emerged was "a thorough and comprehensive study" delving into the ethnography and history of the Northwest Coast. As such this unique account "represented a segment of little-known Spanish scientific interest in the lands and peoples that lay within the New World dominion claimed by Spain."

The implications of this account are thus far-reaching in scope. On one level Moziño presents an accurate and therefore important description of the Nootka area. He describes the geography of the area as well as the characteristics of the inhabitants, their government, religious beliefs, language, poetry, and calendrics along with other items. Moziño, however, also noted the arrival of outsiders, such as the Spaniard, Englishman, and American. The foreigner's motivation for coming (basically, sea otter skins accounted for the dramatic rise of foreign interest), and his relation with the Indian are subjects discussed. Moziño, though, went beyond just exploring the nature of the Indian and the coming of the interloper; he touched too on the problems extant among the foreigners themselves. Rudimentary diplomatic history then, is still another thread apparent in Moziño's writing. Perhaps a last major point to note is that this work is extremely reflective of the intellectual milieu from which it emerged. In her fine introduction, Professor Wilson succinctly examines the Spanish Crown's interest in science and its

patronage of scientific studies as quite representative of the eighteenth century with its stress on enlightened thought. Her discussion of Moziño's educational training and his later involvement with the Royal Scientific Expedition to New Spain well explores the scientific work of the period, its relationship to the intellectual strands of the era, and illustrates how Moziño's work is an integral part of this spectrum.

As the base of her translation, Wilson selected the account published in Mexico in 1913 and carefully compared that edition with four other manuscript copies available. Her copious notes reveal the differences among the five sources. Included in addition to the account itself is Moziño's dictionary of the Nootka Indian language and a catalogue of animals and plants examined in the area. For both, Wilson has provided appropriate English translations.

Essentially, this is a book to be enjoyed. Its careful editing and its well written and interesting introduction make it of value both to the layman and scholar. It's an excellent publication that demonstrates the worth of a fine scholar.

GOLD HUNTER: THE ADVENTURES OF MARSHALL BOND, by Marshall Bond, Jr. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969. 258 pp. $8.50.

Reviewer: PAUL WITHERINGTON, *Professor of English, South Dakota State University.*

Marshall Bond was the kind of father every boy wants so he can brag about him to the boys whose fathers are only businessmen, lawyers, or teachers. He was a summer cowboy while still in his teens, he panned for gold in the Klondike, he explored the canyons of the Colorado with an Indian guide, and he went on an expedition from Cairo to Capetown, South Africa. He shot big game on two continents, and when he was shot at by Pancho Villa's men in Mexico he dug the bullet out of a post to take to his son. To top it off, he was properly humble. "Good fortune, a restless nature, love of adventure, and accident have given me a more interesting life than that which falls to most men," he said on his sixty-eighth birthday. The author, Marshall Bond, Jr., records the father's words and deeds in this book as if he were writing to those other envious boys. At times the title seems to signify not so much a hunter of gold as a golden hunter.

Like Mark Twain, Bond loved a campfire, company of men, and a good joke. He hated ordinary business and did poorly in it. Unlike Twain, he had a degree from Yale and a substantial inheritance. He was a gentleman frontiersman at the turn of the century, when the frontier was dying, but when it was still possible to mine and hunt the land without feeling guilty for it. It was a time when heroism was still fashionable. In the West, Bond knew John Burroughs, John Muir, Joaquin Miller, and Warburton Pike. And in Alaska he met Jack London who modeled the dog in *The Call of the Wild* after Bond's dog. The idea that he was a hero in his own right probably never occured to Bond who was quite a hero-worshiper himself.

But Marshall Bond was the kind of father that could overshadow a son, not just on the later adventures themselves, when the boy was along, but in the telling about them. The colorful vagrancy of the father's life seems to infect the son's prose which is loose and almost formless, and whereas the one charms through the natural colloquialism of journal and letter and stands by the force of the father's personality in the very center of things, the other fails to give us a properly sustained point of view, the adequate frame for action that is demanded of any editor or biographer. Perhaps the author's central problem is in confusing history and biography. He often writes around the father, sidetracking him with digressions on other events and characters (Billy the Kid or Slatin Pasha, for example), using the father's presence in a location as transition to a more general scene. Time is frequently disregarded, for no good reason. From Bond's past we are sometimes abruptly transferred to the disposition of his estate years after his death. The year in the Klondike is described in detail, and rightfully so, but the decade preceding it is left almost vacant, without explanation. We are left wondering if the digressions and omissions are intended to praise Caesar, or to bury him.

Gold Hunter is a two-dimensional story. The son's reverence never lets us inside the father, though it may be that not even Bond got inside Bond. He was a man defined completely in action, the archetypal American frontiersman who never gives up or grows up. On these terms, it may be understandable that we never learn anything about his wife, how he met her, how they married, what became of her—it was not part of the myth. The son himself is rarely present in the work as a character, and when he does appear, he refers to himself as "the author," a habit that is sometimes confusing and always awkward. But when he lets the

father tell his own story without digression, the lure of his prose, complemented by fine old photographs, is as sure as that of the frontier itself. It is a story, in a sense, that tells itself. We have read this story before, somewhere or other, but it is one to which we never really grow indifferent.

ARIZONA: A SHORT HISTORY. By Odie B. Faulk. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970). 267 pp. $3.50.

Reviewer, DONALD C. CUTTER, *The University of New Mexico.*

Directed toward the newcomer, the winter visitor, and the tourist, Odie Faulk's brief history of Arizona "is not intended as a scholarly treatise that opens new avenues of research, but rather as a summary . . . of the state's past, a look at the present, and an overview of its potential in readable terms." In light of this preface statement by the author, his book lives up to its original purpose. As a popular treatment by a prolific writer, now a professor at far-off Oklahoma State University, the book enjoys the advantages of his writing experience while suffering the drawback of doing little to push back the frontiers of knowledge. However, many fine illustrations and maps of notable clarity combine with the general treatment to make this a good book for easy reading.

In three subsections, "The Colonial Years," "The Territorial Years," and "The Statehood Years," the author deals with a series of high points of regional history with greatest emphasis on the middle period, where his work is at its best. Of the errors noted by this reviewer, most were contained in the first section concerning the Hispanic periods.

It is clear from this presentation that the destiny of Arizona was linked in the early period with that of neighboring Sonora and with the Spanish missionary and mineral frontier thereof. In the middle period Arizona's story was the tale of an area whose role was tied up, positively and negatively, with a dominant New Mexico to the east. Separation from New Mexico, by creation of Arizona as a separate territory in 1863, failure of efforts to rejoin the two territories as a single state in 1906, and separate statehood in 1912 definitely resolved the problem. Subsequently Arizona has suffered because of, and gained advantage from, an aggressive western neighbor, California, though perhaps the influence of the Golden State has been relatively less in its time than the impact of Sonora and New Mexico at the earlier time.

An attempt to view objectively, yet sympathetically, the present situation in Arizona strongly suggests that there is room for much research, while Faulk's overview of the state's potential creates a feeling of a dynamic area beset with basic but not insurmountable problems.

THE TAOS TRAPPERS, The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846. David J. Weber, University of Oklahoma Press, $8.95. 229 pages of annotated text, plus Biblography (including primary and secondary sources), and Index. Publication date 1971.

Reviewer: MARGARET VAN ALSTYNE.

As Book Editor I had not intended to review this book but merely to sample it preparatory to selecting a reviewer. So fascinating was it, however, that I could scarcely lay it down until I had completed it. Such a blend of scholarship and readability (with eight pages of illustrations and a map of the fur trading area of the southwest thrown in for good measure) is seldom to be found.

The author has by no means confined his account to the Taos area but has linked up the Taos trappers with the larger trapping and trading area embracing what is now Arizona, New Mexico, southern California and parts of Mexico, Colorado and Utah. He stresses the individual independence of the Taos trappers in contrast to those under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company operating elsewhere in North America. The American Fur Company's ties in the Taos area are not ignored, but the essential aloneness of these men, who stood or fell on their own merits tempered by the good or bad luck that befell them, gives the book a compelling interest.

The periods of Spanish jurisdiction, and of Mexican domination are covered, and the part played by the trappers and traders in opening up the area to Yankee penetration. The account concludes with the decline of the fur trade in the 1840's preceding the U.S. military conquest of 1846. The actual ending is a dramatic account of the Taos revolt of January, 1847.

Throughout, the author represents fairly the several points of view of Spanish, Mexican, French, Indian and American elements.

The reviewer expects this book to enjoy a wide circulation of appreciative readers among laymen as well as professional historians.

NEW FROM THE PUBLISHERS

ALASKA WILDERNESS–EXPLORING THE BROOKS RANGE by Robert Marshall. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1970, 173 pp., $6.25.

THE GREAT PERSUADER by David Lavender. Doubleday and Co., New York, 1970, 444 pp., $7.95.

FIRST AND LAST CONSUL–THOMAS OLIVER LARKIN AND THE AMERICANIZATION OF CALIFORNIA edited by John A. Hawgood. Pacific Books, Palto Alto, 1970, Second Edition, 147 pp., $5.75.

WESTERN WAGON WHEELS by Lamber Florin. Superior Publishing Company, Seattle, 1970, 183 pp., $12.95.

THE BANDIT BELLE by Carl W. Breihan and Charles A. Rosamond. Superior Publishing Company, Seattle, 1970, 141 pp.

CUSTER–THE LIFE OF GENERAL GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER by Jay Monaghan. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1971, 649 pp., $2.95.

FORT PHIL KEARNEY–AN AMERICAN SAGA by Dee Brown. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1971, 251 pp., $1.95.

THE FIREHORSES OF SAN FRANCISCO by Natlee Kenoyer. Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1970, 94 pp., $10.00.

BATTLE DRUMS AND GEYSERS–THE LIFE AND JOURNALS OF ST. GUSTAVUS CHENEY DOANE, SOLDIER AND EXPLORER OF THE YELLOWSTONE AND SNAKE RIVER REGIONS by Orrin H. and Lorraine Bonney. The Swallow Press, Chicago, 1970, 622 pp.

THE CHARLES M. RUSSELL BOOK by John Willard with a foreward by Senator Mike Mansfield. Superior Publishing Company, Seattle, 1970, 64 pp.

THE FOURTEENERS–COLORADO'S GREAT MOUNTAINS by Perry Eberhart and Philip Schmuck. The Swallow Press, Chicago, 1970, 127 pp., $10.00.

BILLY THE KID–A DATE WITH DESTINY by Marion Ballert with Carl W. Breihan. Superior Publishing Company, Seattle, 1970, 141 pp.

THE ROUGH AND THE RIGHTEOUS OF THE KERN RIVER DIGGINS by Ardis M. Walker. Paisano Press, Balboa Island, 1971, 175 pp., $15.00.

DAUGHTERS OF THE RICH a play by Jack London. The Holmes Book Company, Oakland, 1971, 16 pp., $1.00

NOTES ON CENTRAL AMERICA by Ephraim G. Squire. Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1969, 393 pp.

THE MUSSEL SLOUGH TRAGEDY by J. L. Brown. Acoma Books, Ramona, California, 1958, 153 pp., $4.00.

THE CHRONICLES OF MICHOACÁN translated and edited by Eugene R. Craine and Regionald C. Reindorp. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1970, 255 pp., $7.95.

COOL, CLEAR WATER by Bob and Ira Spring and Harvey Manning. Superior Publishing Company, Seattle, 1970, 175 pp., $19.95.

Somebody found this quaint woodcut in an ancient spelling book. If you wonder why it appears here, it already has served the first of its three purposes—for, to be frank, this is an advertisement.

Its second purpose is to suggest that without an index, sometimes it is harder to lay your fingers on a remembered and wanted article in an old copy of THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN than it is to net butterflies.

The third purpose is to inform you about the *Cumulative Index* of THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN for 1968-1970, volumes 12-14. It has been professionally done by Anne Marie and Everett Gordon Hager, and is available postpaid for just one dollar and a quarter.

Now that we have your attention, perhaps we should go on to mention that we have on hand a limited supply of the fourteen back volumes [with not more than four early copies missing]. A set may be purchased for $70 by libraries or scholars.

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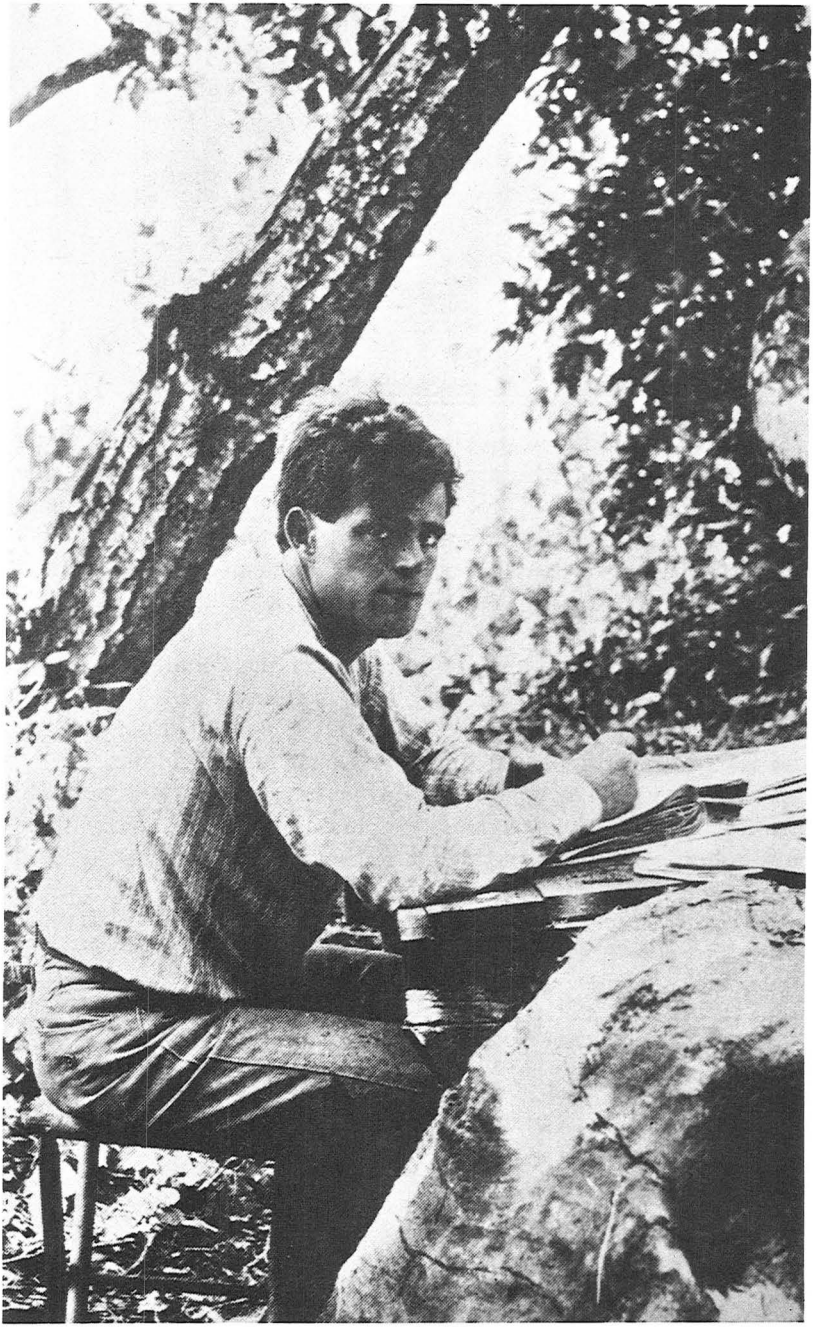

"Far richer than any drowsy emperor in dynastic dreams . . ."

Photo Courtesy of Author

ELEGY FOR JACK LONDON

The old Sonoma men remembered you at once,
Gave me the legend back breathing like a man,
Even an ordinary man, hitching the downhill team
On the saloon post with a sea knot, but entering
To a sudden hush or cheer from your Glen Ellen neighbors.

No ordinary man, after all; friendly yet furtive, looking like
A landlocked sailor must look, out of place, a laughing intruder
In seaman's boots and soldier's campaign hat, understanding little
Of practical farming and less still of profitable farming, losing
Crops, herds, vines, but determined to lose no more, to be loved,

To fight. Far richer than any drowsy emperor in dynastic dreams:
Baronial ranch, feudal house, and the world's lofty acclaim
To be fed by endless novels of the white logic's wolf war—
The haunted world to replenish the land's undying psalm,
The song of the man to be, an estate to endure all storms.

"Sailors on shore," they shrugged, "always go beyond all limits,
Lacking the slap and plunge of the wave to steady themselves."
So the empire was always failing, the big house burning long before
It was ash. The Valley of the Moon shadowed in your eclipse.
At war, the shrouded world watched idly as you drowned.

And yet, lovely daredevil, even at the end, they say, you rode
Death's horses like a shining comber, destroyed but undefeated.
This autumn morning the trees of your Beauty Ranch flower Indian
Red and gold. At your grave today, your history, their memory,
Means nothing. Only, Jack, your restless thought, only your
Desperate need, and mine, in this world of howling beauty
Which divides each of us, like you, into courage and discord.

—Howard Lachtman